September 15, 2003 49145 $3.95 U.S., $4.95 Canadian

Victor Davis Hanson: The Thin Veneer of Civilization

NATIONAL REVIEW

Good Sex

A defense of sexual morality

BY ROGER SCRUTON

#BXNCMYG**********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ555BY003# 0403
88 NTRV 642 P089
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST # 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Because people in need should get the medicines they need.

At Pfizer, we search for medicines to improve life. We also strive to find ways to make sure that every American can get the Pfizer medicines they need. For over twenty years, we've been lending a hand to those who need it most, and today we have programs that reach millions of Americans.

The Pfizer for Living Share Card™ gives qualified Medicare recipients access to Pfizer medicines vital to their health. It allows millions of people who are living on limited incomes with no prescription drug coverage to pay just $15 for up to a month's supply* of their medicine.

Connection to Care lets physicians request free Pfizer medicines for eligible patients who could not otherwise afford them. It helped medicines reach approximately one million people last year alone.

And our **Sharing the Care** program makes Pfizer medications available at no charge to low-income uninsured patients at over 380 community health centers across the country. It has helped over two million patients.

At Pfizer, we never stop searching for new cures. We also never stop looking for innovative ways to provide them. To find out more about Share Card, call 800-290-6882. To learn more about Connection to Care, call 800-707-8990. For more information on Sharing the Care, please contact your local health care center. You can always learn more about these and other programs on our website, www.pfizer.com.

Pfizer

Life is our life's work.®

*Some limitations apply.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SEPTEMBER 15, 2003 VOL. LV, NO. 17

NATIONAL REVIEW

www.nationalreview.com

CIVILIZATION

The Moral Birds and Bees

Page 37

The gurus of sexual liberation say the real purpose of sex is to obtain pleasurable sensations. Sexual initiation, in their view, means learning to overcome guilt and to enjoy "good sex." That picture leaves out of consideration the phenomenon that distinguishes us from the other animals—namely desire. *By Roger Scruton*

ARTICLES

19 **The Once-a-Decade Crisis** *by Steven F. Hayward*
California can get well—and stay well—with sensible, though politically difficult, reforms.

20 **Catch the Vibe** *by Rob Long*
Chuck, Arnold, me, and everyone else.

22 **How Do You Like It Now?** *by Byron York*
Campaign-finance reform, that is. The Democrats and their allies are still wailing.

23 **Congress's Patriotic Act** *by Kate O'Beirne*
This is a law that defends America and, yes, preserves civil liberties, dammit.

25 **Like Drunken Sailors, Part MMCCXVIII** *by Stephen Moore*
Congress, and the president, just can't—won't—stop spending.

35 **John Howard, Hombre** *by David Pryce-Jones*
A leader in the war on terror, whose neighborhood is particularly rough.

37 **The Moral Birds and Bees** *by Roger Scruton*
Sex and marriage, properly understood.

40 **The August of Our Discontent** *by Victor Davis Hanson*
Eternal lessons from a hot and hairy month.

SPECIAL

27 **National Review 2003: Trade and Development**
...with articles by Brink Lindsey, Aaron McLoughlin, Julian Morris, Thompson Ayodele, and Daniel T. Griswold

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

46 **That Old-Time Religion**—*Michael Potemra* . . .
The Transformation of American Religion: How We Actually Live Our Faith, *by Alan Wolfe*

48 **A Very Elegant Coup**—*David Pryce-Jones* . . .
All the Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror, *by Stephen Kinzer*

51 **Treason of the Clerks**—*Michael Knox Beran* . . .
In Denial: Historians, Communism & Espionage, *by John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr*

52 **Music: The Underwear Festival**—Jay Nordlinger on strange doings in Salzburg.

54 **Music: An Alpine Idyll**—Stuart Isacoff on the Verbier Festival.

55 **The Straggler: Conversion Experience**—John Derbyshire discovers the wheelie.

SECTIONS

2 Letters
4 For the Record
6 The Week
18 Notes & Asides
43 The Long View
44 Help!
54 Poetry
58 On the Right
60 What's Right

COVER: *Christie's Images/Corbis*

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 2003. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

September 15 issue; printed August 28

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jeffrey Hart
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger
Washington Editor Kate O'Beirne
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editor Dorothy McCartney
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
White House Correspondent Byron York
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Production Editor Christopher McEvoy

Associate Editors
Emmy Chang / Julie Crane
Kathryn Jean Lopez / Sarah Maserati
Research Director John J. Virtes
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor Jane Jolis

Editorial Associates
Aaron P. Bailey / Patricia B. Bozell
Meghan Keane / Jane Buckley Smith

Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / John Derbyshire /
W. H. von Dreele / Rod Dreher
David Frum / Roman Genn
Jonah Goldberg / John Hillen
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Stephen Moore / John Simon

PRESIDENT
Thomas L. Rhodes

EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Linda Bridges / Wm. F. Buckley Jr. / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo
Tom Bethell / James Bowman
David Brudnoy / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Charles R. Kesler
John Kiley / James Jackson Kilpatrick
David Klinghoffer / Anthony Lejeune
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds
William A. Rusher / Tracy Lee Simmons
Terry Teachout / Taki Theodoracopulos
Ralph de Toledano / Vin Weber
Timothy J. Wheeler

Associate Publisher Jack Fowler Sr.
Assistant to the Publisher Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Accountant Irina Dynkevich
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Victoria Manca
Circulation Director Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager Jason Ng

WORLD WIDE WEB http://www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226

ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Manager Aaron Cohen
Advertising Representative Jim Fowler
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

PUBLISHER
Edward A. Capano

letters to the editor

HELPING HAND

I enjoyed Jay Nordlinger's "Take Your Boxes and . . ." (Aug. 11) and look forward to the problem that will soon face racialist bureaucrats once more of us start giving confusing answers!

Luckily, there is a great legal resource to which these bureaucrats can turn: They certainly will benefit from the large number of law cases from the ante-bellum and Jim Crow South in which judges labored to explain and interpret the distinctions between mulattoes, octoroons, quadroons, and the like.

Just trying to help.

Kevin A. Denton
(1/8 Algonquin and proud of it!)
Pawling, N.Y.

DON'T CALL 'EM INTELLECTUALS

It is one of my strongest personal policies to immediately challenge anyone who refers to fellow travelers as "intellectuals." In David Pryce-Jones's otherwise excellent article, "The New Fellow-Traveling" (June 30), he does just that. IQ to the contrary notwithstanding, anyone who swallows the Communist, socialist, or militant Muslim line is dumber than dirt.

I could describe their mentality accurately, but NR would not print it.

William F. Miller
Corpus Christi, Tex.

THE SODOMY RULING

Gerard V. Bradley in "Stand and Fight" (July 28) goes far in his moral defense of heterosexual marriage, but not far enough. Our Founding Fathers were believers and based the Constitution and civil law on the moral authority of "Nature's God" and "Providence." The Supreme Court justices are trying to establish a new social ideal based only on privacy and consensuality.

If they said that, it would clarify their argument and shed more light on their characters.

David Marwil, M.D.
Lexington, Ky.

MEXIFORNIA

Victor Davis Hanson in "California, Here They Come (and Come)" (Aug. 11) neglects to mention the role of the media, which embrace the divisive concepts of "diversity" and "multiculturalism," ignore the deleterious effects of illegal immigration, and sabotaged the 1999 recall campaign against Gray Davis.

Four years and $38 billion later, the elephant still sits in the room.

Les Hammer
Pasadena, Calif.

Mr. Hanson's piece really caught my attention. I am surrounded by thousands who (often by the grace of God and miracles that rival the Red Sea parting) have escaped their personal Egypt: Mexico. And like the Hebrews of old, they keep looking back. With just one foot in the Promised Land, they grumble and complain, the onions and garlic remembered, the horror and degradation forgotten. Emotionally and physically they return to Egypt again and again.

Margaret Nash
Long Beach, Calif.

COULTER AND HER ENEMIES

Re Sarah Maserati's review of Ann Coulter's book *Treason* (Books in Brief, Aug. 11): Miss Coulter's over-the-top defense of Joe McCarthy mocks us patriots who fought so hard and so long to contain the real Communist threat, not centered on Washington, D.C., and Alger Hiss, but on Moscow and Stalin. I am a true and faithful conservative, but McCarthy ruined the lives of too many loyal Americans to be celebrated as Miss Coulter celebrates him.

Jerry W. McIntyre
Stockton, Calif.

Ann Coulter needs to write a book entitled "The Great Cover-up." If she had gone back into the FDR era, she might understand just where it was that the seeds of treason and socialism were sown.

Toby Elster
Wichita, Kan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Wake-Up Call

U.S. military forces are increasingly dependent on foreign suppliers for much of their equipment and key components. Many of those sources cannot be relied upon in war times.

During the Iraq campaign, for instance, U.S. forces made extensive use of the Boeing Company's smart bombs, known as Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM). Micro Crystal, a European company, supplied Honeywell Inc. with the crystals it needed to build guidance systems for the Boeing weapon.

Many Europeans opposed America's actions in Iraq. The Boston Globe ("US-Made Measure Sparks Debate," 6/20/03) reports that the Swiss industrialist who controls Micro Crystal ordered the company to halt shipments to Honeywell. It did. A Swiss spokesperson said the industrialist acted for "personal reasons."

Fortunately, Honeywell found an alternative supply. But as House Armed Services Chairman Duncan Hunter (R-CA) said: The incident is "a wake-up call."

Indeed, it is a big and loud wake-up call. The U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission reports that the United States is increasingly dependent on China for many of its most important Advanced Technology Products, many of which are defense-related. Of the U.S.-China trade in these 500 types of high-tech goods, the United States has a trade deficit in more than half.

The American Electronics Association reports (Tech Update 2003) that China is now the United States' largest supplier of all high-tech goods.

For decades, the United States has safeguarded its defense capabilities with legislation that requires certain vital equipment and components be purchased only from factories operating inside the United States.

Under the pressure to get the cheapest components anywhere they may be found, some major U.S. defense contractors want those "Buy America" laws weakened.

Chairman Hunter has sponsored legislation, now approved in the U.S. House of Representatives, to expand the "Buy America" provisions. Soon, the U.S.Senate will also vote on whether to weaken or strengthen those statutes.

We think that a secure America depends on secure domestic supplies for U.S. Armed Forces.

We think manufacturing in America matters.

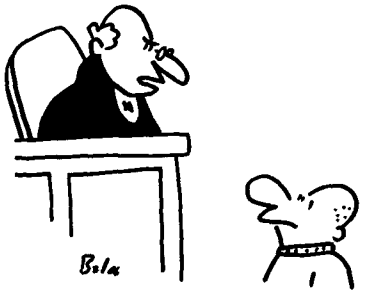
CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN U.S.A.

Crafted With Pride in the USA
It Matters!

P.O.Box 65326
Washington, DC 20035
www.craftedwithpride.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the record



"Grand theft auto is not a disease like any other!"

■ In *Washington Post* poll, President **Bush**'s approval rating stabilizes at 59 percent, with 56 percent approving of his handling of Iraq. . . . Bush: "Make no mistake about it, Iraq is part of the war on terror. . . . Thanks to our military, Iraqi citizens do not have to fear a secret police, arbitrary arrests, or loved ones lost forever, and mass graves. Thanks to our military, the torture chambers of a dictator are closed, the prison cells for children are empty. Thanks to our military, **Saddam Hussein** will never threaten anybody with a weapon of mass destruction." . . . Iraq's postwar administrator **Paul Bremer**: "I don't accept the proposition that we are not in control. . . . It is a terrible war. It is one that was declared on the American people very dramatically on September 11th and it is a war we will win."

■ Former secretary of state **Madeleine Albright** reacts to U.N. bombing in Baghdad, on NBC: "The U.N. cannot and should not be pushed out of this. . . . The most important part here . . . is the whole process needs to be internationalized more. We cannot keep saying this is an American coalition." . . . Sen. **Joe Lieberman**: "I have been surprised at how stunningly unprepared the Bush administration was for what they would do the day after Saddam fell. Unfortunately, we're paying the price for it." . . . Rep. **Dick Gephardt** (D., Mo.), in *Omaha World-Herald*: "I don't think [Bush] understands reality. . . . I don't think he understands morality." . . . Gov. **Brad Henry** (D., Okla.), in *Washington Post*: "I fear that if we nationally nominate a candidate who is too far to the left, we'll have less of a chance of winning. We need a more moderate, pro-defense candidate."

■ In Field Poll of California voters, Gov. **Gray Davis** (D.) earns 70 percent disapproval rating, and 58 percent favor a recall, including 27 percent of Democrats. . . . Davis: "What's happening here is part of an ongoing national effort to steal elections Republicans cannot win.". . . More Davis: "Republican ideology in Sacramento is that they would rather shoot their mother than raise any tax." . . . **Bill Simon**, last year's GOP nominee, quits governor's race saying too many Republicans are running. . . . **Howard Dean** (D., Vt.): "The people of California are going to think very carefully before they decide to let the Republicans take another election by nefarious means." . . . **Arnold Schwarzenegger** (R.): "From the time they get up in the morning and flush the toilet, they're taxed. . . . Then they go and get the cup of coffee, they're taxed. This goes on all day long. Tax, tax, tax." . . . More Schwarzenegger, on adviser **Warren Buffett**'s suggestion to raise property taxes: "I told Warren if he mentions Prop. 13 one more time, he has to do 500 sit-ups." . . . Conservative state senator and gubernatorial candidate **Tom McClintock** (R.): "I do realize it would be helpful if the Republican field narrows and for that reason, I am prepared at the appropriate time to accept Arnold Schwarzenegger's endorsement."

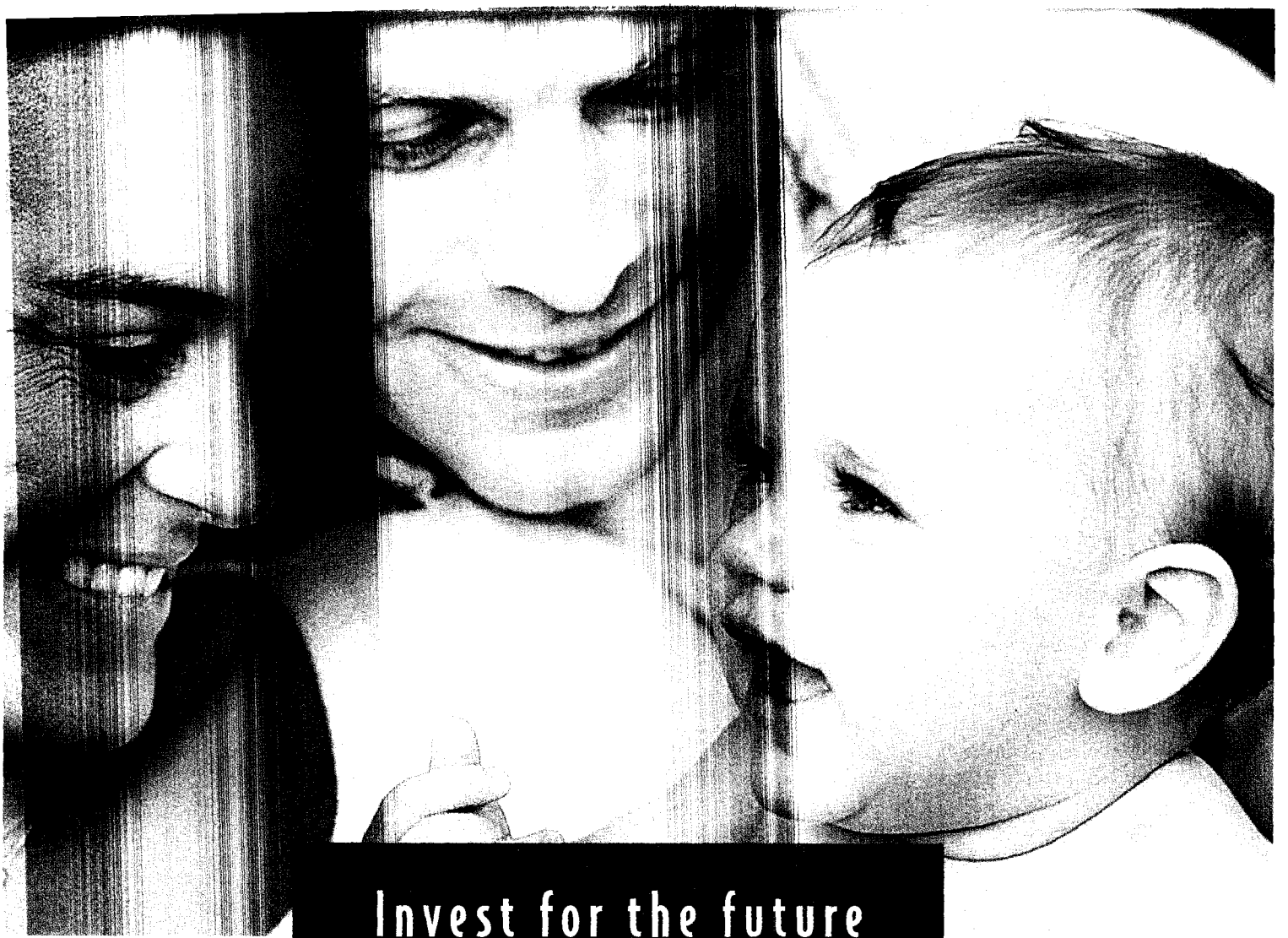
■ Bush: "I've been concerned that our infrastructure, the delivery system is old and antiquated. And I think this is an indication of the fact that we need to modernize the electricity grid." . . . Gov. **Bill Richardson** (D., N.M.): "We're a superpower, but we have a Third World grid that needs to be modernized." . . . Sen. **John Kerry** (D., Mass.): "It underscores a blackout in this administration on energy policies. They have ignored the investment needs of our infrastructure in favor of a tax cut for the wealthy." . . . Energy secretary **Spencer Abraham**: "If you're the person who doesn't have power, you don't want to hear this partisan squabbling. What you want is to have solutions. We provided a 105-recommendation energy plan two years ago. Congress still hasn't finished the job of enacting that plan."

■ Attorney general **John Ashcroft**: "Our ability to prevent another catastrophic attack on American soil would be more difficult, if not impossible, without the Patriot Act. It has been the key weapon used across America in successful counter-terrorist operations to protect innocent Americans from the deadly plans of terrorists. . . . If we knew then what we know now, we would have passed the Patriot Act six months before September 11 rather than six weeks after the attacks." . . . Club for Growth endorses **Lynn Westmoreland** for Congress in Georgia's 8th district: "Lynn Westmoreland is a proven leader who supports the **Reagan** vision of limited government and lower taxes." . . . Family Research Council names State Rep. **Tony Perkins** of Louisiana as president: "Perkins has been the leading opponent of Louisiana's gambling industry and one of the state's most vocal pro-life advocates."

■ For first time, Russian warships conduct joint maneuvers with Japan and South Korea, offending traditional ally North Korea. . . . To cut costs, Sweden's armed forces will operate only during office hours for the rest of the year. . . . Two Cuban gymnasts, **Michel Brito Ferrer** and **Charles León Tamayo**, defect during games in Los Angeles. Says Ferrer: "We don't have a future and there's no way to have any fun over there." . . . Venezuelan opposition groups gather 3.2 million signatures calling for the removal of President **Hugo Chávez** in first step toward recall election.

■ **Jay Leno**: "I don't want to say Gray Davis is on the run, but today he released an audiotape on the al-Jazeera network from his underground bunker somewhere in the Sacramento area." **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Invest for the future

As a Catholic, there's no better reason to invest than to provide for your family's future. And there's no better place to invest than the Ave Maria Family of Mutual Funds.

Our mutual funds are designed specifically for morally responsible investors. The Funds' experienced money managers select securities based on sound investment fundamentals and pro-life Catholic values.

So whether you're saving for a future goal like college or retirement or to supplement your current income, you never have to sacrifice your religious beliefs to pursue your financial objectives.

For your complimentary investment kit, call toll-free:

1-866-AVE-MARIA (1-866-283-6274)

or visit www.avemariafund.com

Smart Investing and Catholic Values

AVE MARIA MUTUAL FUNDS

Ave Maria Catholic Values Fund

Invests primarily in companies that are believed to be undervalued relative to their intrinsic worth. The goal is long-term capital appreciation.

NEW

Ave Maria Growth Fund

Invests primarily in companies that offer above-average potential for growth in revenues, profits and cash flow. The goal is long-term capital appreciation.

NEW

Ave Maria Bond Fund

Invests primarily in the investment-grade debt of domestic corporations, U.S. government agencies and municipalities. The goal is preservation of principal with a reasonable level of current income.

Past performance is not a guarantee of future results. Investment return and principal may fluctuate so that shares, when redeemed, may be worth more or less than their original cost. For more complete information about the Ave Maria Mutual Funds, including charges, expenses and updated performance, please write or call Schwartz Fund Distributors, Inc. for a free prospectus. Please read the prospectus carefully before you invest or send money. Schwartz Fund Distributors, Inc., 3707 W. Maple Road, Bloomfield Hills, MI 48301.

FINANCIAL ADVISORS: Please call 1-248-644-8500 for Fund kit and more information

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

Che Guevara still has co-eds in his clutches, after all these years *(see page 14)*

She's rich from oil money. She pays no taxes. She takes her cues from tobacco lobbyists. Maybe we should endorse Arianna Huffington?

There have been several pieces of good news for Arnold Schwarzenegger's campaign for governor of California. First, Bill Simon graciously dropped out of the race. A Governor Simon would have been a much more appealing prospect for conservatives than a Governor Schwarzenegger. But Simon reasoned that his continued presence in the race would serve the interests only of Democrats. Second, Schwarzenegger won the endorsement of Warren Buffett. He is serving as an adviser to the candidate, which will reassure many voters who consider Buffett a reliable guide to economic policy. Third, the candidate has shown himself willing to ignore Buffett's advice, which is in fact reliably bad when it comes to economic policy. Buffett suggested that Californians need to pay higher property taxes. Schwarzenegger distanced himself from that idea, noting that the state is already among the most overtaxed in the nation. Fourth, Democratic divisions show no sign of closing. Sen. Dianne Feinstein, the most popular politician in the state, urged voters to oppose recall and skip the vote on who should replace Gray Davis. Nancy Pelosi, the leader of House Democrats, told voters to oppose recall but vote for Cruz Bustamante, the lieutenant governor, on the second ballot. Schwarzenegger has managed to inspire an apoplexy on the left that is not, alas, matched by the conservatism of its object. He has not yet won the support of California voters—or our support. Many conservatives will prefer to support the candidacy of Tom McClintock, whom they can trust to share their views. But the early developments in Schwarzenegger's campaign have been reasonably encouraging.

Back in the 1970s, while a student at Fresno State University, Bustamante was active in a little outfit called *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan*, otherwise known as MEChA. One of the most stridently racist organizations in America—their motto is "For the Race, everything. For those outside the Race, nothing"—MEChA seeks the liberation of "Aztlan" (their name for the southwestern United States) from the evil whites. "We are a bronze people with a bronze culture," declares their mission statement. Given the fuss over Schwarzenegger's father's having been a Nazi party member, and the other fuss over whether Arnold was among the 59 percent of Californians who supported the "racist" Proposition 187 (which banned provision of non-emergency welfare services to illegal immigrants), you might think the California media would be all over Bustamante's MEChA membership. You might think so . . . if you had spent the last 30 years in a coma.

Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania apparently doesn't like being called "the worst Republican senator," as the cover of our last issue dubbed him. The last four GOP Senate leaders didn't appreciate the honor either. Responding to John J. Miller's article, Howard Baker, Bob Dole, Trent Lott, and Bill Frist issued a statement describing Specter as "a team player and one of the best Senators in promoting Republican values and policies." This statement is difficult to take seriously, given Specter's opposition to the first round of Bush tax cuts and his recent attempts to deny school choice to poor children in the District of Columbia—to say nothing of his crucial role in the Senate's original borking. And has Senator Dole forgotten that Specter was more likely to oppose President Reagan's policies than support them in 1986 and 1987, according to a *Congressional Quarterly* tabulation? Specter actually prides himself on not being a

ROMAN GENN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HEADPHONES THAT OFFER SUPERIOR NOISE REDUCTION AND EXCEPTIONAL AUDIO. WHAT COULD BE BETTER?

THE NEW AND IMPROVED MODEL.

INTRODUCING THE NEW QUIETCOMFORT® 2 ACOUSTIC NOISE CANCELLING® HEADPHONES.

When our original QuietComfort® headphones were introduced, *Upscale* magazine called them "revolutionary." The *Boston Globe* wrote, "with the Bose Acoustic Noise Cancelling headsets on, the airplane roar became a whisper." And audio critic Rich Warren named them his "product of the year."

Imagine what you'll say about our new QuietComfort®2 headphones – which combine the exceptional noise-reduction technology of our original headphones with dramatically improved audio performance and enhanced convenience.

REMARKABLE NOISE REDUCTION. We originally designed our noise-reducing headphones for airplane travelers. But customers soon started telling us how well they work in other noisy places. That's why our new QuietComfort®2 headphones feature the same patented technology that electronically identifies and dramatically reduces noise while faithfully preserving the music, movie dialogue or silence you want. So you can use them to concentrate at the office, reduce the whine of neighborhood lawn mowers or watch a movie during your next flight. Or simply relax in peace.

PREMIUM SOUND. The improved audio technology inside our new QuietComfort®2 headphones delivers sound so real, even the subtlest musical nuances come through with amazing clarity. When audio critic Wayne Thompson heard our new QuietComfort®2 headphones, he reported, "Bose engineers have made major improvements." If you're a headphone user, we think you'll agree – this technology makes your music sound better. The details come shining through.

ENHANCED CONVENIENCE. Their new fold-flat design means they'll slip easily into a bag or briefcase. You can listen to portable CD/DVD/MP3 players, home stereos, computers and in-flight entertainment systems – or nothing at all. And you can wear them for hours, because we've made them so lightweight and comfortable. *CNET* says, "They feel good – even luxurious – on your ears." We say it's easy to forget you have them on.

TRY THEM FOR YOURSELF – RISK FREE. We don't expect you to take our word for how dramatically our new headphones reduce noise, how clean and full they sound or how comfortably they fit. So we invite you to try them for 30 days. If you can live without them, return them for a full refund. It's that simple.

Call and ask about our **12-month interest-free payment plan.*** And discover the kind of performance that has made Bose the most respected name in sound.

CALL 1-800-901-0199, EXT. Q2096

For information on all our products: ***www.bose.com/q2096***

Name_____

Address_____

City_____State_____Zip_____

Day Phone (_____)_____

Eve. Phone (_____)_____

E-mail (Optional)_____

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

Mail to: Bose Corp., Dept. DMG-Q2096, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168

©2003 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. *Installment payment plan not to be combined with any other offer or applied to previous purchases, and available on credit card orders only. Payment plan is subject to credit approval, and other conditions may apply. Your credit card will be debited each month with no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. First payment to include shipping, handling and applicable sales tax. Payment plan subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial offer only. Quotes reprinted with permission: Candis Dickerson and Constance E. Clemons, *Upscale*, 3/01; Jerry Morris, *Boston Globe*, 10/24/99 on the original airline headset; Rich Warren, *News-Gazette*, 11/27/00; Wayne Thompson, *Portland Oregonian*, 4/18/03; David Carnoy, *CNET*, 4/16/03.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

team player: "The characterization by the NATIONAL REVIEW is not surprising, considering my independence," he told Pennsylvania reporters. Still, the foursome's statement is a good sign. It means that Specter is worried about a serious and deserved primary challenge from conservative congressman Pat Toomey.

The electricity industry has been deregulated over the last several years; a protracted blackout just occurred; ergo, deregulation has failed and needs to be reversed. Somehow this bit of conventional wisdom managed to be transmitted nationwide even before the power came back on. But the truth is that deregulation has been slow and partial. The market for electricity transmission and distribution, which is what misfired in mid August, has actually been subjected to increased regulation over the last decade. Price controls, for example, make it unprofitable to invest in expanded distribution lines. The parochial biases of state regulators have impeded the development of free interstate commerce in electricity. Federal regulators have imposed their own counterproductive restrictions. Before giving up on free markets, maybe we should try them first.

Why is attorney general John Ashcroft criss-crossing the country defending the Patriot Act? Consider this statement from Al Gore, made in his recent speech to the left-wing activist group MoveOn.org: "This president has claimed the right for his executive branch to send people, if they so desire, into every public library in America and secretly monitor what the rest of us are reading. That's in the Patriot Act." Such statements—lies, really—forced Ashcroft to set the record straight. On the library issue, for example: Section 215 of the Patriot Act allows federal investigators, if they believe a terrorism suspect's library records (or some other records; the act does not mention libraries specifically) might yield important information, to ask a federal judge for permission to search the records. If the judge grants permission, the search may go ahead. If the judge says no, it stops there. Nothing is done without the court's okay. That's called due process, and there's a lot of it in the Patriot Act. In addition, Gore and the other critics don't mention that regular criminal grand juries have *always* had the power to subpoena library records—for any reason whatever. In the Unabomber case, for example, grand juries subpoenaed records from several Western university libraries. In the Zodiac killer case, a grand jury subpoenaed library records because investigators believed the killer was inspired by an obscure occult poet. The only difference with the Patriot Act is that anti-terrorism investigators must meet a higher standard of evidence to win a court's permission. On page 23, Kate O'Beirne has more on the political battle over the act. But here's the short version of how you should react when the critics wail and accuse: Don't believe them.

The Jerusalem bus bombing and the Israeli retaliation in late August have prompted much hand-wringing about the status of the "road map." The ultimate goal of the road map is admirable—two states living together in peace—but it is folly for any U.S. administration to invest too much time and political capital in an attempt to force it. There can be no substitute for the effort of the Israelis and Palestinians themselves. Until such time as Palestinian society is capable of policing itself and apprehending the murderers in its midst, the Palestinians cannot be trusted with a state. Once the

The man who has gotten the issues right in Alabama is Bill Pryor.

The national press is beating up on Roy Moore, the chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court. Moore is defying a federal court order to remove a large display of the Ten Commandments from his court building. The hostile attention seems not to faze Moore, who appears rather to relish the role of martyr. The man who has gotten the issues right in this controversy is Bill Pryor, the state's attorney general. Pryor contends that the display is perfectly constitutional, and that the court order to remove it is accordingly mistaken, but that Moore is nevertheless bound to abide by it. The display is constitutional because an acknowledgement of the Creator, and of the ethical norms that flow from monotheism, does not amount to an establishment of religion. Otherwise we would have to conclude that it is unconstitutional to post displays of the Declaration of Independence, which after all posits that we have rights endowed by the Creator rather than given to us by government. (Besides, the Constitution's provisions on religious freedom are addressed to Congress, not to state judges.) The Supreme Court has, unfortunately, made a hash of church-state jurisprudence over the last 60 years, and only recently started to set things right. It is not the job of a state judge to accelerate that progress. Indeed, one of the risks of Moore's grandstanding is that it will retard or reverse that progress. Pryor is quite right to insist that Moore obey a court order specifically directed at him—and Pryor's willingness to enforce the law even when it offends his conservative allies ought to shame those Democrats who are holding up his nomination to a federal court because of alleged doubts about his willingness to follow the law. What Pryor cannot say, but others should, is that there are legal means of resisting foolish Supreme Court decisions. In past years, Congress has shown strong, bipartisan approval for a bill declaring that the Tenth Amendment reserves to states the power to display the Ten Commandments. Now would be a good time to dust off that bill.

GETTY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Can Anne Jones Convince Us to Face the Race Issue

John H. Bunzel is a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution; past president of San Jose State University; and a former member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

California voters will be asked to confront the race issue once again when the Racial Privacy Initiative (RPI) appears on the October 7th, 2003 ballot (unless the court intervenes). The measure would prohibit the state and other public entities, such as universities, from collecting information on a person's race, ethnicity, or national origin.

Backers of the initiative claim it would be a major step toward creating a color-blind society. Asking people to check a box identifying their race or ethnicity prolongs "race consciousness," they maintain. "The only way to make race not count is to stop counting it." Those who support RPI insist that race and ethnicity are not the most important things to know about people—hence their desire to eliminate statistics of race and ethnicity from the records of California.

Striving toward a color-blind California is a noble goal; unfortunately, the RPI initiative will do nothing to make that goal a reality. The sad fact is that race remains, as author Richard Rodriguez has observed, "the sine qua non of American transactions."

One may look forward to a time when racism and discrimination no longer scar our lives yet still oppose a measure such as RPI that would prevent policymakers from discovering areas where whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are treated differently by everybody from loan officers to teachers and doctors.

One thing seems certain. As *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Debra Saunders has argued, "Not knowing the facts will not put an end to discrimination or make racial equality a more immediate reality."

"But isn't it discrimination," some one will ask, "to classify people by racial categories?" The answer is no—unless the intention is to pit one minority group against another. **It is not discrimination to record a person's race or ethnicity when the openly acknowledged purpose is to eliminate racial inequities, not perpetuate them.**

Statistical evidence about racial and ethnic groups helps track various forms of discrimination, especially as it affects the everyday lives of people of color. Equally important, race- and ethnic-based data can also assist in charting the economic progress of black Americans who have significantly improved their situation. As Harvard demographer Edward Glaeser has noted, the facts represent not just changes for the better but "big changes in terms of historical trends."

Everyone in this increasingly fierce debate wants to see a time when people will treat each other equally and fairly. But it is a mistake to replace empirical observations with ideological or moral preconceptions. Race and ethnicity continue to be real forces in American life, and it is wishful thinking to pretend they are irrelevant or "artificial." By making constructive use of racial and ethnic data, state planners and legislators can determine not only which policies may be succeeding (and which ones are not) but how closely many issues of race and inequality remain intertwined.

— *John H. Bunzel*

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Interested in more commentary on public policy?

Visit us on-line at www.hoover.org ***or contact us to receive a complimentary copy of the 200-page, award-winning*** Hoover Digest.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

Palestinians perform, on the other hand, the Israelis will have to make painful concessions regarding settlements, borders, and Jerusalem. (They have been willing to make such concessions in the past.) May the day when the Palestinians no longer embrace suicide bombings arrive soon. In the meantime, there can only be low-intensity war.

Adel Al-Jubeir is upset. The smooth Saudi spokesman doesn't like what he's been reading in NR. On CNN recently he denied that the Saudis fund anti-Western incitement abroad (he was lying—but that's his job), and said "if there is any incitement, it's coming out of the NATIONAL REVIEW itself." On MSNBC, he said it would take "a psychiatrist to analyze what they're doing." Well, the psychiatrists are going to be very busy. Democratic presidential candidates Howard Dean and Dick Gephardt have recently called for a more confrontational posture toward the Saudis, as more and more people realize that the Saudis have created a worldwide network of Islamic extremism. We'll stay on the case. Sorry, Adel.

Muammar Qaddafi, the sinister clown who holds Libya in his clutches, has come up with a fine new trick. He is offering to accept responsibility for the 1988 bombing of the Pan Am aircraft over Lockerbie that killed 270 people, and to pay $10 million to the family of each victim. Blood money, in plain language. The first catch is that in return he expects the United Nations to lift the penalties it has been imposing on Libya, and that have been hurting the country to the tune of billions of dollars annually. Cheap at the price, then. (The United States accuses Libya of developing weapons of mass destruction, however, and has no intention of lifting its quite separate penalties.) The second catch is that evidence indicates that Iran and Syria hired Libyan agents for the bombing, but this deal leaves them untouched. And the third catch is that the scent of money has excited France. In 1989 a French-owned UTA plane was blown out of the sky in Lockerbie style, killing 170. While not admitting responsibility for this atrocity, Libya paid France $34.4 million in compensation. The French now insist on more, to match the proposed Lockerbie offer. Otherwise France threatens to use its Security Council veto against the lifting of U.N. sanctions. For once, the French veto might be a happy accident.

Police in Korea recently stopped a human-rights activist from disseminating radios, handling him so roughly that he needed medical treatment. An example of North Korea's keeping its uniquely insane regime hermetically sealed? Wrong: The police in question were South Korean, enforcing their government's "sunshine" policy of not piquing the North Korean government. The activist, Dr. Norbert Vollersten, a German who lived in North Korea for 18 months, was attempting to launch balloons containing transistor radios over the DMZ to drop their subversive freight on North Korean soil. The South Koreans may desire national unity, but a "sunshine" policy that keeps their brethren in darkness is hardly the way to achieve it.

The sentimental flapdoodle about native peoples' being close to the spirits of nature, knowing every rock and tree by name, etc., etc., is not confined to the United States. Down under in Queensland, a dam is being built. The land that is disturbed in the course of construction is monitored by aboriginal elders "with specialized cultural knowledge," presumably to ensure that all spiritually significant stones are left unturned. For this, the elders are paid $300 a day—stupendous wages for outback aborigines. When a national politician questioned these disbursements, the Queensland official responsible for them replied in frank Australian style: "I don't see anyone making any complaints about archeologists' being paid $1,000 a day for the same sort of work. Does that mean professionals have legitimacy to charge what they want and blackfellas can't?" Oh, just let them open casinos.

"By Tre-, and Pol-, and Pen-, ye shall know the Cornish men." So went the old ditty, referring to common prefixes found in the surnames of Cornwall (bottom left tip of England). This remote and rocky region jutting out into the Atlantic squalls was thought hardly worth colonizing by the Germanic invaders who took over lowland Britain in the 5th and 6th centuries. Like Wales, it retained its Celtic character, and the Cornish language (related closely to Welsh and Breton, more distantly to Irish) was spoken until 1800 or thereabouts. In recent years the language has been revived by private study groups. In the spirit of the age, the Cornish now want to be officially recognized as an ethnicity, and to have their language taught in schools. A lawsuit is in progress, and no doubt the Tres, Pols, and Pens will soon have all the appurtenances of a modern "minority," with university Cornish Studies departments, demands for reparations, and an angry terrorist fringe setting off car bombs. And you thought "Cornish" was just a kind of hen!

Nabil Hilmi, dean of the law faculty of Egypt's University of al-Zaqaziq, has announced that he will file a lawsuit

AMBIGUOUS ARNOLD

Dragging that "R" behind his name
As if it were a stole
(In Hollywood, they're always mink),
Schwarzenegger, on a roll,
With Shriver pushing from the rear
And Simon pulling out,
Leaves Feinstein looking nonplussed at
This Austrian mahout.

—W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Increase Your Income, Reduce Taxes, and Leave a Legacy of Freedom for Future Generations

Reagan Ranch, *Rancho del Cielo*, Santa Barbara, California

Young America's Foundation currently offers the following annual payout rates to our gift annuitants:

SAMPLE ONE-LIFE RATES

AGE	RATE
60	5.7%
65	6.0%
70	6.5%
75	7.1%
80	8.0%
85	9.5%
90+	11.3%

SAMPLE TWO-LIFE RATES

AGE		RATE
YOUNGER	OLDER	
55	60	5.0%
60	65	5.5%
65	70	5.7%
70	75	6.1%
75	80	6.6%
80	85	7.3%
85	90	8.4%

In addition to an important and immediate gift to Young America's Foundation, a Charitable Gift Annuity provides the following benefits to you:

- guaranteed, partially tax-free, lifetime income stream
- immediate charitable tax deduction
- reduction of capital gains taxes for gifts of appreciated property

"I considered Charitable Gift Annuities with a number of other organizations, but felt that a gift to Young America's Foundation and the Reagan Ranch was the best way to ensure that future generations of young Americans are inspired by the life and work of President Ronald Reagan."

— Kirk Fordice, Governor of Mississippi, 1992–2000

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

Young America's Foundation
110 Elden Street
Herndon, Virginia 20170
(703) 318-9608 (800) 292-9231
www.yaf.org

The Reagan Ranch Center
217 State Street
Santa Barbara, California 93101
(805) 957-1980
www.reaganranch.org

NR3

FOR MORE INFORMATION AND A FREE PROPOSAL, CALL CAROLYN KLEY FANNING AT (800) 292-9231, EXT. 12

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

against all of the world's Jews. The allegation he makes is actually admitted in the Jewish Scriptures, at Exodus 12:35–36: At the time the Israelites fled from Egypt, "they had asked of the Egyptians jewelry of silver and of gold, and clothing. . . . Thus they despoiled the Egyptians." But Hilmi should be put on notice that the Israelites actually had been given title to all that property, by the highest possible authority. "God said to Moses: . . . 'I will give this people favor in the sight of the Egyptians; and when you go, you shall not go empty; but each woman shall ask of her neighbor, and of her who sojourns in her house, jewelry of silver and of gold, and clothing, and you shall put them on your sons and on your daughters; thus you shall despoil the Egyptians'" (Ex. 3:14, 21–22). Hilmi might consider invoking the legal doctrine of *respondeat superior*; but he would do so at his own peril.

Iceland has announced that it will harvest 38 minke whales this year. Reykjavik claims that the long-standing ban on whaling has exploded the whale population, threatening the fish stocks on which the island nation depends. Whales are popular, and eco-ideologues are powerful, on both sides of the Atlantic (if not in the middle). The State Department was "extremely disappointed" with Iceland's decision and threatened sanctions. The EU said it was "not happy." Greenpeace has dispatched the ubiquitous *Rainbow Warrior* to interfere as much as possible with the Northmen's maritime plundering. Worried by the adverse international reaction and the Greenpeace blockade, Iceland's whalers put to sea secretly. Happy hunting.

John Geoghan, serial pedophile and defrocked priest, was murdered in a Massachusetts prison on August 23. His killer is a neo-Nazi serving a life term for murdering a gay man 15 years ago—the type of inmate Geoghan should have been nowhere near, presumably. Geoghan's end makes a tragic story even more so. But Geoghan's death and the media coverage of it raises a question: Since when has Geoghan been considered a homosexual? The coverage of his death has highlighted the "homophobia" of his murderer, but the coverage of his sexual abuse never highlighted his homosexuality. Perhaps the introduction of the g-word into the Geoghan story can be the beginning of a more honest look at the Catholic Church scandals.

The 9/11 attacks may have given New York City an education in the style of behavior appropriate to the wake of catastrophe. In September 2001, New Yorkers appeared to find a new sense of community. When transportation failed, as did much else to which people were accustomed, they helped one another comprehensively, many even having time to discover that they actually liked one another. Mayor Giuliani, not to mention George W. Bush, rose to the occasion and emerged as a hero. This appears to have affected the behavior of New Yorkers during the recent blackout. Courtesy was the order of the day. The looting, assault, arson, and disgrace all around that accompanied the 1977 blackout were nowhere to be seen. Welcome now to the New Big Apple. We will not know for several months whether there will again be a spike in births, but it was pleasant at least for that evening.

Not all New York stories are so happy. In August 1991 a mob of young black men yelling "Get the Jew!" descended on Yankel Rosenbaum, a history student visiting New York City from Australia. Rosenbaum was stabbed four times and died hours later. There then began one of those miserable legal-racial dramas so characteristic of modern America, in which we all understood that the perpetrator of the crime, one Lemrick Nelson, though indubitably guilty, would never be adequately punished, because he is black, and a decisive component of the juries he faced would be likewise. The latest episode in this particular juridical farce was acted out on August 19, twelve years to the day after Rosenbaum's murder. Nelson, the murderer (he was arrested within minutes of the assault, covered in blood; Rosenbaum identified him before dying; Nelson's lawyers admit he stabbed Rosenbaum), was sentenced to ten years for "violating" Rosenbaum's "civil rights." This was the third trial in the case. At the first, a mainly black New York jury acquitted Nelson, then threw a party for him afterward. At the second, a federal court found Nelson guilty, but was overruled on appeal on a microscopic point of racial-jurisprudential theology. Because Nelson has already served some spells in jail for this crime—in between which spells, he kept himself busy by stabbing two other people—he will be free in less than a year. Rosenbaum's family has been heroically indefatigable in its pursuit of justice. Yankel's brother Norman, on his *103rd* trip to New York from Australia to hear this preposterous verdict, declared: "It's not over." The murderer has "sincerely" apologized "for all the litigation," and declared his desire to "move on."

The industry of racial demagoguery and coercion increasingly operates under a kind of informal Brezhnev Doctrine. Once an individual, group, or company surrenders to race-hustling, they don't go back, for fear of public defamation, harassment, boycotts, etc. How refreshing, then, to see that NASCAR has apparently decided to stop funding Jesse Jackson's Rainbow/PUSH Coalition. Over the past few years, NASCAR reportedly gave some $250,000 to an affiliate of the organization. But *USA Today* reports that it will not donate any money in 2003. Like so many other businesses targeted by Jackson, NASCAR had tried to buy protection against charges of racism. Some good it did. Earlier this summer, one prominent Rainbow/PUSH member called auto racing "the last bastion of white supremacy" in professional sports, while another referred to it as "a good ole boy's Southern cracker sport." This despite NASCAR's donations, and despite its sponsoring a variety of initiatives to boost black participation, including a minority internship program. NASCAR's decision on Rainbow/PUSH was the brave one (and, of course, the correct one).

Terrorists may rarely achieve their political objectives, but they invariably succeed in raising their organization's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lighting Technology for eye comfort

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room

The Balanced Spectrum™ Floor Lamp brings many of the benefits of natural daylight indoors for glare-free lighting that's perfect for a variety of indoor activities.

Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now, there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

Use the Balanced Spectrum Floor Lamp...

...for hobbies...

...at work...

...and when you need a source of balanced light for close-up tasks.

The Balanced Spectrum Floor Lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels, but as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the balanced spectrum of daylight. You will see with more comfort and ease as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing and needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes. For artists, the Balanced Spectrum Floor Lamp can bring a source of natural light into a studio, and show the true colors of a work. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency and a dual position control switch for 18 and 27 watts of power, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high fidelity electronics, ergonomically correct design, and bulb that lasts five times longer than an ordinary bulb make this product a must-see.

Try this special manufacturer rebate offer. The Balanced Spectrum Floor Lamp comes with a one-year manufacturer's limited warranty and a $20 rebate.

You don't need the Sun to get many of the natural benefits of daylight

- *Replicates the balanced spectrum of natural sunlight*
- *See with comfort and ease*
- *Creates natural, glare-free light*
- *Dual position switch for 18 and 27 watts of power is equivalent to 100 and 150-watt incandescent bulb*
- *Provides sharp visibility*
- *Uplifting, cheerful and bright*
- *Flexible gooseneck design*
- *Instant-on, flicker-free light*

What's the difference with Balanced Spectrum?

The value of a light source is measured by how well it renders all colors of the visible spectrum without bias. The Color Rendering Index (CRI) is measured on a scale of 1–100. The bulb used in the balanced spectrum lamp is an exceptional light source with a CRI of 94.5. This will provide better vision and energy savings through a balanced spectrum of light with a brighter bluish tint verses the same area lit by lighting with more of an orange or reddish tint.

This light can change the way you live and work

As a commercial photographer, I probably give more attention to lighting than most people and therefore was impressed with the smooth, soft daylight quality of your lamp.
Dennis M.
Richmond, VA

My old lamp always left my eyes feeling so fatigued. The balanced spectrum lamp floods my home office with a soft, natural light that actually relaxes me. Balancing my checkbook even seems a little easier now.
Hudson M.
Richmond, VA

Results may vary.

Technology revolutionizes the light bulb

- *5,000 hours bulb life*
- *Energy efficient*
- *Shows true colors*

Also, it has TechnoScout's exclusive home trial. Try this product for 30 days and return it for the full product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Balanced Spectrum™ Floor Lamp was ~~$129.95~~, now...

ZR-3269..... only **$109.95*** + S&H

After the $20 manufacturer mail-in rebate

Please mention source code 25137.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

800-790-0265

To order by mail with check or money order, or by credit card, please call for total amount plus S&H. To charge it to your credit card, enclose your account number and expiration date.

Virginia residents only—please add 4.5% sales tax.

LATEST...GREATEST...NEATEST...COOLEST
You can see hundreds of high-tech products at www.technoscout.com

TECHNOSCOUT
1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2003 TechnoBrands, Inc.

34426

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK...

prestige. The Earth Liberation Front recently claimed responsibility for burning and vandalizing $1 million worth of Hummer vehicles at a Los Angeles dealership. Whereupon: The group garners media attention, membership increases, and donations pour in from around the world. (ELF may accuse businessmen of greed, but their motives are hardly purer.) Let's hope that they don't decide that the real money is in targeting people rather than cars.

What a joker that Al Franken is! Gathering material for his new book *Lies and the Lying Liars Who Tell Them: A Fair and Balanced Look at the Right*, the gap-toothed gadfly conceived the notion of writing a serious-looking letter to attorney general John Ashcroft asking him to share his personal experience of sexual abstinence, as a contribution (the pretense went) to a book on abstinence programs in our public schools. To make the letter look more authentic, the leftist laughmeister sent the request under the letterhead of the Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, an arm of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, where the frizzy-haired funster holds a position as "academic fellow." Some weeks later, the horn-rimmed humorist confessed his little prank, and issued a groveling apology . . . mainly to the Shorenstein Center, for having misused its stationery. It's not that sexual abstinence isn't funny, see, or that John Ashcroft isn't fair game for any kind of abuse. It's just that one ought not tick off powerful liberal patrons like the Shorenstein Center.

In a new course at Princeton, "Topics in Spanish American Literature and Ideology: Ernesto Che Guevara Between History and Literature," students will study Guevara's own writings as well as various hagiographies of his brutal and bloody career. It should come as no surprise that this is the largest fully subscribed class in the Latin American Studies department. Che Guevara's face is as ubiquitous on the walls of American college dorms as Anna Kournikova's cleavage. Why is someone who devoted his life to spreading totalitarianism on two continents so popular on American campuses? With left-liberal academics, it's fairly simple. Inveighing against "capitalist exploitation," "El Che" was a photogenic hero to many in happier, hippier days. With American undergraduates, Che's appeal is less ideological and more immature. Che has remained a symbol of rebellion for the pimpled, the pierced, and the politically confused. They cannot quite make a world revolution. But it's still more legitimacy than a killer like Guevara deserves.

In April 2002, then-congresswoman Cynthia McKinney (D., Ga.) made headlines by suggesting that the Bush administration had been complicit in the 9/11 attacks. "What did this administration know and when did it know it?" McKinney asked in a radio interview. "Who else knew, and why did they not warn the innocent people of New York who were needlessly murdered?" She qualified her statement—slightly—a few days later: "I am not aware of any evidence showing that President Bush or members of his administration have personally profited from the attacks of 9/11. A complete investigation might reveal that to be the case." Georgia voters showed McKinney the door in last year's primary, but the erstwhile congresswoman has landed on her feet: In July, Cornell hired her as a visiting professor. We are not aware of any evidence that McKinney is (in the words of one Cornell dean) "a person of considerable achievement in the political sphere"—and doubt that a complete investigation might reveal that to be the case.

IRAQ

A Bearable Burden

THE Bush administration's Iraq policy faces substantial obstacles: simmering unrest, factional disputes, impatience, distrust. And that's just in Washington, D.C. In the aftermath of the United Nations bombing in Baghdad, Bush faces increasing criticism. Pundits on the left and the right say that we need to have more troops and civilian personnel in Iraq. Democrats want those boots on the ground to be filled by non-Americans. John Kerry and Robert Byrd say that it's mere "pride" that has kept Bush from asking other countries to help us in Iraq. There are various proposals to give the U.N. more authority. The occupation needs, in the buzzword of the day, to be "internationalized."

Some of these suggestions are reasonable, and should be heeded. Gen. John Abizaid, the head of the U.S. Central Command, says he does not need more troops—but it seems prudent, all the same, to provide him with more. Take them from Bosnia, if necessary. (It also seems prudent to make longer-term plans to expand our armed forces, notwithstanding Secretary Rumsfeld's claim that various reforms can free up existing troops.) Gen. Abizaid says that what he really needs is better intelligence. If more resources can be used to beef up intelligence capabilities, they too ought to be provided. Additional funds to improve infrastructure would also be money well spent. Success in Iraq is more important than keeping the deficit down, let alone providing a prescription-drug benefit. We think the public would not balk at the expense if the president made the case for it.

Success in Iraq is more important than keeping the deficit down, let alone providing a prescription-drug benefit.

The demand for internationalization, on the other hand, is based on the idea that Iraqi reconstruction is proving too great a burden for America. Our men in Iraq are risking their lives every day. But the occupation has endangered neither our military nor our economy. To speak impatiently about reducing the American presence in Iraq signals a lack of resolve to see the reconstruction through. Such signaling is dangerous. Nor should we be deluded into thinking that putting a non-American face on Iraq will mollify our enemies. That idea should have gone up in smoke with the U.N. bombing. We are in a war on terrorism. At this moment, the top priority of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gain priceless insight into the most amazing machine ever created—your own body!

Let the Teaching Company's 32-lecture video course **Understanding the Human Body** show you the wonders of anatomy and physiology

In this 32-lecture course, the distinguished surgeon Dr. Anthony Goodman puts a solid understanding of human anatomy and physiology easily within your grasp.

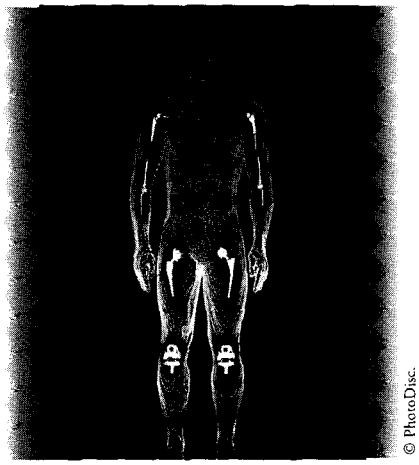
You'll learn to see the structure and functioning of our bodies as an awesome, integrated unity, a perspective that reveals the logic and symmetry of the human organism with compelling clarity.

Vital knowledge of your own body and its workings should be no secret. The Teaching Company has made that knowledge easier to gain than ever. This extraordinary course will familiarize you with every one of the body's wondrous systems—including cardiovascular, respiratory, nervous, musculoskeletal, digestive, reproductive, and endocrinal.

Learn how structure and function go together to make us what we are

Dr. Goodman combines the study of anatomy and physiology in a meaningful, exciting manner that is simple to grasp. By putting the structure of our bodies in the context of their function, he relates anatomy to those normal processes that keep us alive.

Each lecture concentrates on an organ or organ system, such as the heart and blood vessels. First, you'll examine the gross anatomy, the structure that can be seen by the unaided eye. You'll also learn the microscopic anatomy of structures too small to be seen without the help of a microscope. Following that, Dr. Goodman explains the physiology, or functioning, of that organ system, concluding with some discussion of disease and ways it can be prevented and treated.



© PhotoDisc.

These lectures on human anatomy and physiology are intended to increase the understanding of the structure and function of the human body. They are in no way designed to be used as medical references for the diagnosis or treatment of medical illnesses or trauma.

Neither The Teaching Company nor Dr. Goodman can be responsible for any result derived from the use of this material. Questions of diagnosis or treatment of medical conditions should be brought to qualified medical personnel.

A Great Teacher

Dr. Anthony Goodman (A.B., Harvard; M.D., Cornell) teaches microbiology and gross anatomy in the Medical Sciences Program of Montana State University. For 20 years a general surgeon specializing in the treatment of cancer, he has served as an examiner for the American Board of Surgery and is a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons and a Diplomate of the American Board of Surgery. He has published numerous papers on both clinical and experimental surgery.

Course Curriculum

Cardiovascular System (Lectures 1-4)
Respiratory System (Lectures 5 and 6)
Nervous System (Lectures 7-13)
Digestive System (Lectures 14-19)
Endocrine System (Lectures 20-22)
Urinary System (Lectures 23 and 24)
Reproductive System (Lectures 25-27)
Musculoskeletal System (Lectures 28-30)
Immune System (Lecture 31)
What Can Go Wrong? (Lecture 32)

"All the courses that I have requested have been excellent. They have far exceeded expectations in the wealth of information and in presentation."
—C.M. Sharma, M.D.
New York, NY

SAVE UP TO $390!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL OCT. 12, 2003

About The Teaching Company:

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 1,800 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we can refund your money promptly (excluding shipping).

To order, mail coupon below or call our toll-free number: (Please refer to Priority Code 14516)
1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412) www. TEACH12.com/natr

The Great Courses™
The Teaching Company®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 14516

Please send me **Understanding the Human Body: An Introduction to Anatomy and Physiology**, which consists of 32 forty-five minute lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ☐ **DVD $129.95** (reg. price $519.95) **SAVE $390!** plus $20 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ☐ **Video $99.95** (reg. price $399.95) **SAVE $300!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

**Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. Call or visit the FAQs page at www.teach12.com for details.*
***Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.*

☐ **Charge my:**
☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover/NOVUS ☐ American Express

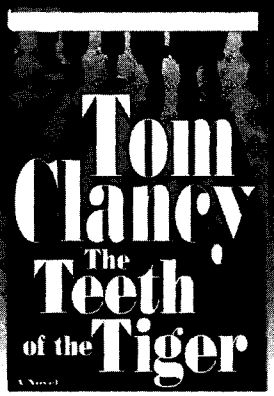
Account Number _____ Exp. Date _____
Signature _____
Name (please print) _____
Mailing Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Phone *(If we have questions regarding your order)* _____

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

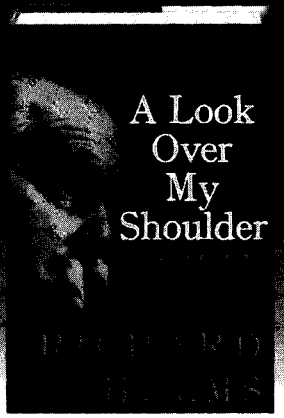
Offer Good Through: October 12, 2003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

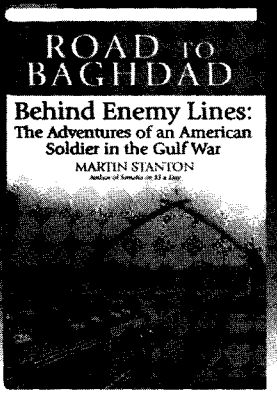
DIG DEEPER



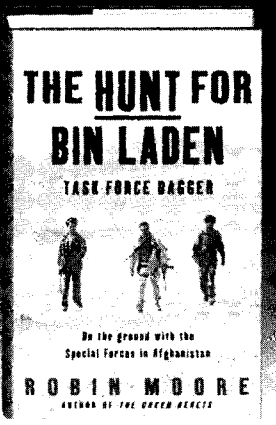
1032++ ~~$28.95~~ 50¢



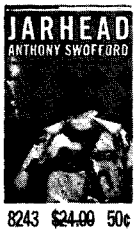
0364 ~~$35.00~~ 50¢



1156 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢



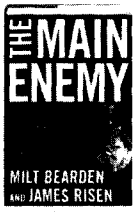
0554 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢



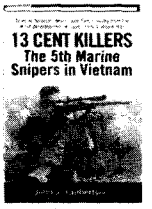
8243 ~~$24.00~~ 50¢

1479 ~~$18.99~~x 50¢

1560 ~~$26.00~~ 50¢

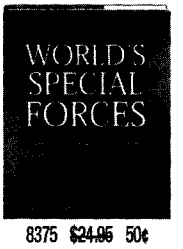


1172 ~~$27.95~~ 50¢



8672 ~~$19.99~~x 50¢

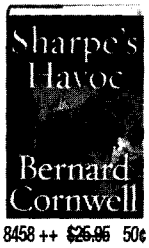
0752 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢



8375 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢

8169 ~~$27.95~~ 50¢

8441++ ~~$24.99~~x 50¢



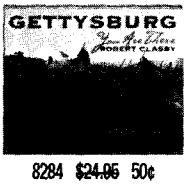
8458 ++ ~~$25.95~~ 50¢

8656++ ~~$17.99~~x 50¢

7880 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢

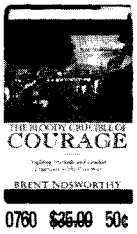
8557++ ~~$34.95~~ 50¢

0356++ ~~$24.95~~ 50¢

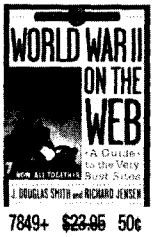


8284 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢

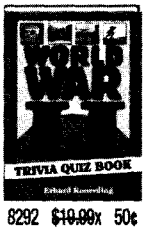
1214 ~~$30.00~~ 50¢



0760 ~~$35.00~~ 50¢



7849+ ~~$23.95~~ 50¢

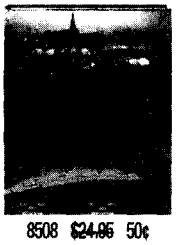


8292 ~~$10.99~~x 50¢

0794 ~~$39.95~~ 50¢

8540 ~~$19.99~~x 50¢

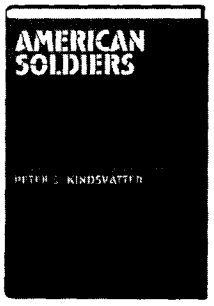
0588 ~~$34.95~~ 50¢

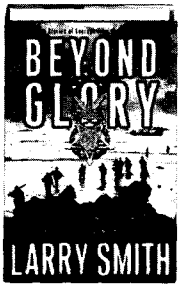


8508 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢

1222 ~~$29.95~~ 50¢

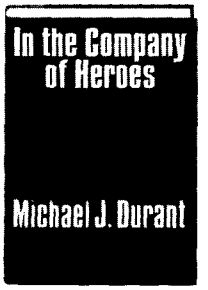
A ground-breaking study of American foot-soldiers from WW I though 'Nam, which draws compelling conclusions about what impels them to face the danger—and what they experience when they do. *30 B/W photographs.*
8466 ~~$34.95~~ 50¢





Stories of those who went well above and far beyond the call of duty, from WW II to Vietnam. Fueled by fierce loyalty to their comrades and nation, 24 Medal of Honor winners share their tales of courage and valor. *24 B/W photos.*
0208 ~~$25.95~~ 50¢

His back and leg broke but never his spirit. Black Hawk pilot Mike Durant is a genuine hero. Here's his personal, harrowing story of being shot down and captured in Somalia during the greatest fire fight in decades.
0091 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MILITARY BOOK CLUB®

We take you beyond the headlines for the true motivations, technology and traditions of armed conflict.

0570 ~~$17.95~~ 50¢

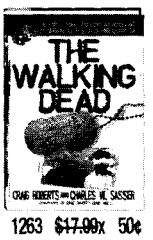
Take up to 5 Books for $1.99 with membership

Join now and receive a FREE GIFT

or

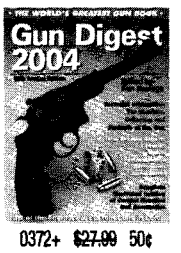
0802 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢

8524 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢

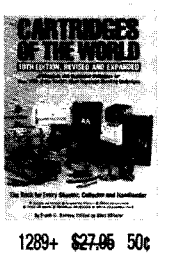


1263 ~~$17.99~~x 50¢

8334 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢

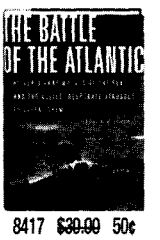


0372+ ~~$27.99~~ 50¢



1289+ ~~$27.95~~ 50¢

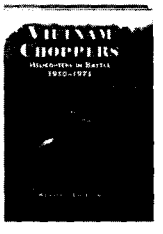
0992+ ~~$29.00~~ 50¢



8417 ~~$30.00~~ 50¢

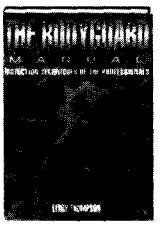
8367 ~~$25.00~~ 50¢

7625+ ~~$24.95~~ 50¢

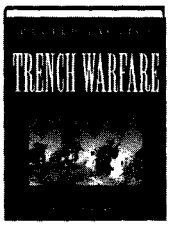


1370 ~~$26.95~~ 50¢

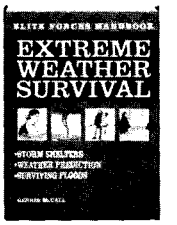
8433 ~~$34.95~~ 50¢



8763 ~~$24.95~~ 50¢



8482 ~~$34.95~~ 50¢



0661 ~~$19.95~~ 50¢

0737 ~~$27.00~~ 50¢

Join online at www.JoinMilitaryBookClub.com OR AOL Keyword: Military Book Club (see order card for online code)

7 REASONS TO BECOME A MEMBER: 1. Membership is easy. Just choose 4 books for $1.99. Send no money now. Your bill (including shipping and handling) will come when membership is confirmed (unless otherwise notified). **2. Satisfaction Guaranteed.** If you're not satisfied with your introductory package, return them within 20 days *at our expense.* Your membership will be canceled and you'll owe nothing. The Free gift is yours to keep as our "thank you" for trying us. **3. Save up to 50% off publishers' edition prices.** Every book we offer is a high-quality, full-text edition sometimes altered in size. Just purchase at least 4 more books at regular Club prices within 2 years. After buying 4 books you may resign at any time or remain a member for as long as you wish. **4. More savings now!** Buy an additional book now for just $5.99, plus shipping and handling, and reduce your membership agreement to only 3 books. **5. The FREE Club magazine** is sent to you up to 19 times a year (about every 3 weeks). Each issue reviews the Main Selections and a variety of alternate books. **6. Ordering is risk-free.** Main Selections are sent to you automatically. To cancel shipment—or order other books—simply return your Member Reply Form or contact our Web site by the marked date. Shipping + handling (plus sales tax, where applicable) is added to each order. You'll always have 10 days to decide. If your Member Reply Form is late and unwanted books arrive, you can return them *at our expense* and we'll credit your account. **7. Easy ordering** through the mail or via our Web site. Go to **www.JoinMilitaryBookClub.com**. Please use Online Code: HS216. B170

x Special edition exclusively for Club members + Softcover ++ Fiction

Prices shown are for publishers' hardcover editions.
Club hardcover editions save you up to 50%.
Prices shown were current at press time.

B170 NAT 9/15/03

THE MILITARY BOOK CLUB®

MAIL TO: *The Military Book Club®*
P.O. Box 6357
Camp Hill, PA 17012-6357

www.JoinMilitaryBookClub.com OR AOL Keyword: Military Book Club
Use Online Code: HS216

YES! Please enroll me in *The Military Book Club®* according to the risk-free membership plan described in this ad. Send me the 4 BOOKS I've indicated. Bill me just $1.99, plus shipping and handling. Also send me my FREE gift. I agree to buy 4 more books within the next 2 years.

CHOOSE YOUR FREE GIFT! ☐ FREE Hat (#9969) or ☐ FREE book ☐☐☐☐
Please write item number here

Mr.
Mrs./Ms. _____
(please print)

Address _____ Apt. _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

Home telephone, please: (____) _____

Please sign (if under 18, parent must sign) _____

47 ### ### 14 52 HS216 ◄ Online Code

Please write book numbers here:

Members accepted in U.S.A. and Canada only. Sales tax added where applicable. Membership subject to approval. Canadian members serviced from Canada where offer is slightly different.

SAVE MORE NOW! Send me this book now and reduce my commitment to 3 books. Bill me an added $5.99, plus shipping and handling.

Please write 5th book number here: ☐☐☐☐

The Military Book Club® is a registered trademark of Doubleday Direct, Inc. Used under license. All rights reserved.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our enemies in that war is the failure of democracy in Iraq. To achieve that goal, they are willing to kill Iraqis in large numbers. They will not shrink from killing Swedes.

It would be foolish to turn down sincere offers of help. Some countries (notably India) may be willing to send troops if the United Nations first blesses their doing so. If we can get a U.N. resolution to that effect without making concessions that would cripple our efforts, by all means we should do so. We will know that the U.N. is prepared to play a constructive role when it recognizes Iraq's new Governing Council.

For all the dubious complaints, and real casualties, we are making progress in Iraq. That progress has not even been slow, except by the standards of the media. We have secured most of the country. The economy is improving. Vital services are increasingly provided. Democratic institutions are in the first stages of forming. More needs to be done, of course. But the next few steps will involve strengthening Iraqi authorities: creating government ministries that answer to the council; getting more Iraqis to participate in civil defense; using the new Iraqi bodies to gather needed intelligence. If we need to transfer some of the burden of governing Iraq to anyone, it is not the United Nations. It's the Iraqis themselves.

Iraq-ization, anyone?

notes & asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: W. H. von Dreele is so prolific that one might tend to take his witty verse for granted or skim right over it. But the eight lines of rhymed, perfectly metered tetrameter on Bush's European trip (June 30) are really ingenious.

Look what he packs into the four lines on the French visit: "In Evian, a 'put it there' / From George to that Old Europe pair / Relieved the tension; but worldviews / Preclude invites to barbeques." Check the rhyming of "a 'put it there'" with "Old Europe pair"; also "worldviews" precluding "barbeques." Hysterical. He tells a long story with brevity, charm, and perfect technique. And he does it all the time.

Sam Segal
East Hampton, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Segal: You have a sharp eye. Von Dreele is very special and uniquely ingenious.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Though a fan of your non-fiction for many years, I've only recently learned that you've written novels as well. Don't ask where I've been, but this news was a surprise to me!

Anyway, I've recently read *A Very Private Plot*, and was excited, upon finishing it, by an idea for it. Have you considered turning it into a movie? It would be a huge success, and I can even picture Robert Duvall in the lead, with Tom Hanks playing his son.

This would rank among successful intrigue films as gripping as *The Third Man*.

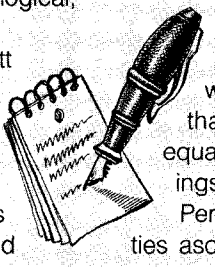
With enthusiasm,
Carolyn C. Billotte
Elyria, Ohio

Dear Ms. Billotte: I think that's a terrific idea. And maybe Mr. Scorsese should direct it? Get it made, and herewith 10 percent of the proceeds.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: A question for your N&A column: "That is him" is idiomatic and "That is he" is logical, but which is correct?

Max Hocutt
Northport, Ala.



Dear Mr. Hocutt: "That is he" is grammatically correct. "That is him" is common usage. It would be more permissible, by idiomatic rules, if it were expressed, "That's him."

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: A Mr. Cummings from California wrote (June 16) to complain about the Mormon in your novel, *Getting It Right*. I'm afraid you were too short with him.

You see, we Mormons make rather heavy weather about sins of the flesh. We find it especially shocking for a missionary to forget himself so far. Nowadays, fornicating missionaries are usually excommunicated. When, added to that, we find that the character married out of the Church, we recognize that he is of that sort who are Mormon more or less by charity and sufferance. It's a demanding faith, Mr. Buckley.

This is not to justify but to excuse Mr. Cummings's reproof. He stands in need of excuse, I fear: By his own admission he appears not to have read the novel.

As for my own view, I note that the character has quite a bit to do with the conservative movement. Helping God to speed the Right covers a multitude of sins, is it not so?

Sincerely,
Adam Greenwood
Notre Dame, Ind.

Dear Mr. Greenwood: I grant what you say, but remind you that the laws you cite apply equally in Judeo-Christian teachings.

Perhaps your point is that iniquities ascribed to a Mormon defy the novelist's license. If you are saying that empirical research would establish that this is so, I hope you would be proved right.

Moreover, the liberties I took were not, kindly remember, skeptical in the matter of Mormon teachings; skeptical only that such teachings are never defied, e.g., by 19-year-olds exposed to expert seduction.

Cordially,

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ CALIFORNIA ■

The Once-a-Decade Crisis

California can get well—and stay well—with sensible, though politically difficult, reforms

STEVEN F. HAYWARD

"WHAT do we do now?" That was the question on the lips of Ronald Reagan's inner circle the day after he won his first landslide election as governor of California in 1966. In 2003, people aren't waiting for the election to turn their thoughts toward figuring out how to climb out of California's fiscal abyss. Democrats want to raise taxes; no news there. Republicans want to cut spending, but are vague on details, as Arnold Schwarzenegger admitted at his first press conference.

Can a $38 billion budget shortfall be closed with spending cuts alone? The precedents are not encouraging. The current budget crisis is the fourth in the last 40 years. In each case save one (the small shortfall of 1983), the eventual solution involved a large tax increase—all from Republican governors, starting with Ronald Reagan in 1967. Reagan's $1 billion tax hike, at a time when the total state budget was only about $5 billion, would amount to more than $10 billion today, adjusted for inflation and population growth. Twelve years ago Gov. Pete Wilson, facing a then-unimaginable $14 billion budget shortfall, tried to split the difference, ordering up $7 billion in new taxes to go along with $7 billion in spending cuts.

The Wilson experience is an excellent case study in supply-side economic theory, for his tax hikes brought in far less revenue than expected, and the state's budget shortfall dragged on for several more years. The state's economy—and tax revenues—didn't start to recover significantly until Wilson cut tax rates in his second term. A tax hike now is certain to prolong California's agony.

Although most California citizens understand that overspending is the heart of the problem, not many appreciate how egregiously out of control state government has become. Republican candidate Tom McClintock has calculated that if the last budget of Gov. Pat Brown—the "big spender" Reagan unseated in 1966—were enacted today, adjusted for population growth and inflation, it would be about $40 billion, as opposed to the nearly $100 billion budget Gov. Gray Davis proposed. Brown built schools, college campuses, large water projects, and hundreds of miles of highways. Today, at twice the tax burden of the 1960s, the state builds virtually no public works; the budget is almost wholly devoted to social services and education. Spending under Davis has grown twice as fast as household income. Bonded indebtedness has soared from $7 billion to $40 billion in the past two years, and the state's bond rating has sunk to Third World levels. If California were an independent nation, its fiscal imbalance would qualify for International Monetary Fund intervention.

Arnold Schwarzenegger is correct in saying that few people have a clear understanding of how the budget is really spent, and is on to the cornerstone of fiscal reform in calling for a constitutional spending limit. The favored model at the moment is Colorado's taxpayer bill of rights, which limits increases in per capita state spending to the inflation rate (factoring in population growth) and requires a vote of the people for any tax increase. Colorado, almost alone among states at the moment, has no budget crisis; Colorado taxpayers have received several tax rebates in recent years and

GRAY DAVIS BY DARREN GYGI

Mr. Hayward is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington and a senior fellow at the Pacific Research Institute in San Francisco.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have enjoyed one of the highest rates of job growth in the nation.

If California had Colorado's spending limit in place, California taxpayers would have enjoyed $30 billion in tax rebates since 1998. But here the plot thickens. California *had* an effective constitutional spending limit in the 1980s, called the Gann limit, for its proponent, the late tax activist Paul Gann. (The Gann limit was enacted by voter initiative in 1979.) In fact, taxpayers received a $1.1 billion rebate in 1987; the rebate checks bore the signature of the state controller—Gray Davis. The spending limit is actually still in the state constitution, but has become a dead letter. Understanding how this occurred is central to devising a strategy for long-term spending control.

California liberals hated the spending limit almost as much as they still hate the 1978 Proposition 13 limit on property taxes; and they eroded the spending limit, gradually but quite successfully, in the late 1980s and 1990s. Their effort to scrap the spending cap is a long and complicated tale, but it essentially involved exempting ever greater portions of state spending from being covered by the limit. The teachers union struck first, narrowly passing an initiative in 1988 that earmarked roughly half the state budget for K–12 education and exempted education spending from the calculation of the Gann limit. Soon, other "vital" aspects of spending were exempted, and before long the state budget had become a stampeding herd of sacred cows. Between earmarks, federal mandates, and the "current services" budget method, the California budget is on automatic pilot to a greater extent than even the federal budget. I once calculated that less than 8 percent of the state budget can be considered "discretionary" spending that the legislature can genuinely control through the regular budget process (that is, without major statutory change).

For any future constitutional spending limit to stick, all the earmarks and exemptions must be swept away. This is considered a political impossibility: The special interests that benefit from these earmarks—especially the teachers union—will be loath to surrender their pre-set pieces of the pie. There is one enticement that might break the deadlock. Liberals hate the two-thirds vote requirement for tax increases (and for passing a budget) that was an adjunct feature of Proposition 13, and have in the wings an initiative to scale back the supermajority to 55 percent. A reformist governor might offer to make tax increases and budget passage subject to a simple majority in return for the end of earmarks and a serious spending limit. Anti-tax activists would protest this retreat, but if a serious spending limit were in place, there would be less pressure for tax increases.

While long-term structural budget reform is necessary to prevent this year's budget catastrophe from recurring, the more urgent question is, What should be done right now? The Reason Public Policy Institute has produced the most extensive and serious short-term budget proposal: a 150-page, 10-point "Citizens' Budget" that would, if enacted, produce a $1.5 billion surplus within two years. The Reason budget plan, amazingly, has few direct program cuts. It would achieve most of its savings through aggressive use of competitive outsourcing and privatization; abolition and consolidation of numerous state agencies, boards, and commissions; reduction of state personnel by 5 percent (Gov. Jeb Bush has reduced state personnel costs in Florida by 5 percent every year); and adoption of a biennial budget process. The Citizens' Budget also lists over $15 billion in specific line-item cuts.

If a serious spending limit were in place in California, there would be less pressure for tax increases.

Much of this agenda is anathema to public-employee unions, making its adoption problematic. Yet California, whose once-a-decade fiscal crises always seem to be worse than those of other states, may have reached the end of the road this time. If Gov. Davis is thumpingly recalled on October 7, and his replacement selected with 40 percent or more of the vote (as many observers are predicting), the new governor will be in a strong position to demand serious reform in the state budget. **NR**

■ **CALIFORNIA II**

Catch the Vibe

Chuck, Arnold, me, and everyone else

ROB LONG

CHARLTON HESTON is one of the world's great squinters. Years ago, as a very young television writer, I found myself on the receiving end of one of his most squinched-up expressions.

We were at some charity event, I think. I can't remember exactly why I was there, but at the time I was 23 and had about $350 in the bank, so whatever reason I had, it wasn't a very good one. But there was Heston, holding a glass of white wine and squinting across the crowd, so I marched over and introduced myself. I opened with a little joke.

"Mr. Heston," I said, "I just want to introduce myself. I'm a Republican too, and I guess if a bomb dropped on this room tonight, there wouldn't be any conservatives left in Hollywood. I mean, you and I are the only Republicans around, I think." Weak laugh from me; vaguely mirthful squint from him.

"Well," he squinted, "there are plenty of *Republicans* in Hollywood, but there aren't too many *conservatives*."

I had only been in Hollywood a few months, and I was still struggling with sensory overload, so I didn't really hear his words. I could only watch his eyes narrow and his lips move soundlessly. The only voice I heard was my own, rattling around inside my head: *Holy smokes, I'm talking to Charlton Freakin' Heston! His head is, like, huge. I guess all movie stars have big heads. And he talks just like you'd think Charlton Heston would. He's like . . . the thinking man's William Shatner. Hey, what's he squinting at?*

Later, driving home in my smoking and squeaky Subaru, I suddenly thought to myself, *Wait a minute. There's a dis-*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tinction between being a Republican and being a conservative?

That was years ago, of course, and I've gotten a lot smarter since then. But that still seems to me to be a curious distinction to make, out here on the edge of the Pacific. I understand the philosophical differences, naturally. And I grasp the finer categorical reasons why certain conservatives don't rightly cotton to certain Republicans, but, I mean, come on. Out here in Hollywood, you could squeeze the whole group of us—Republicans, conservatives, gun nuts, whatever—into one or two of those gas-guzzling monster SUVs. We could drive around town like circus clowns in a VW, stopping at various points of interest—the Reagan Library, the Nixon Library, the . . . well, did I mention the Reagan Library?—piling out to stand in a group, squinting into the sun like our Great Leader.

California, though, is not Hollywood. The state is a strange brew that leans to the right. Imagine, if you can, lifting up the eastern edge of the country into a gentle westward tilt. Maybe wiggle it back and forth, to shake loose the rootless bits and tumble them all out our way. What you have, then, is California Conservatism. (You also have California Liberalism, but that's another story.) A few parts Yankee-style Republican establishment (Pasadena, Hillsborough, San Diego); some go-go libertarian entrepreneur hedonists (Irvine, Mountain View, Walnut Creek); some sun-baked cowboy Christians (San Bernardino, Bakersfield, Fresno); affluent, pot-smoking divorced tennis players (Santa Barbara, Huntington Beach, Carmel); and mountaintop or high-desert U.N.-hating end-of-timers (Redding, Salton Sea, the Sierras).

What you have, in other words, is trouble, all mixed together, with two-and-a-half major media markets frantically trying to beam a unifying signal across the whole squinting bunch of them. California, they say, is the future. It's also, however, the past: shaken loose, rolled downhill, all mixed up. There's a reason our favorite dish is the salad.

When you do that shaking and wiggling, what comes loose are the kind of people who aren't very tethered to begin with. And those of us who have come here, to make it big in pictures, or grapes, or lettuce, or software, or real estate, often forget that this nutty, loosely woven state has been a magnet for dreamers and no-accounts for a long time. The native-born like to set themselves apart, but if you go back far enough—and sometimes, not really far back at all—every Californian shares a certain kind of seedy heritage. We all came, whether panning for gold or developing wi-fi applications, to enjoy a dollop of prosperous counterculture rootlessness.

When mostly East Coast-based media types try to explain California, or coin clever punditries for the Sunday shows, they invariably make fools of themselves. This is, after all, a state whose most liberal governor, Jerry Brown, is a passionate advocate of the flat tax; and whose most conservative governor, Ronald Reagan, signed both a huge tax increase and a liberal abortion bill.

There's a reason our favorite dish is the salad.

Which brings us to the next governor of the Golden State, Arnold Schwarzenegger. If he plays his cards right, Arnold will harness the vast engine of California's leave-me-alone, small-business entrepreneur vibe and head off to Sacramento. But it has been interesting, from way out here on the edge of the country, to notice how suspiciously his candidacy was greeted, at its outset, by the squinters among us. Sure, he's a *Republican*, but he isn't much of a *conservative*. He's soft on gays, taxes, dope, and abortion, is the rap on him. Seems Heston was right.

Well, yes and no. In the following days, Arnold certainly sounded like a tax hawk to me, but I've been fooled before. His campaign's brief vagueness about Proposition 13—California's seminal voter tax-revolt initiative—was quickly clarified. He's for it. Conservatives breathed a sigh of relief.

It's not clear to me, though, as a California property-tax victim, why Prop. 13 is such a good deal. My property taxes are way high (my house was last assessed in 1999) and, compared with others on my street—older folks who have owned their houses since the '70s—I'm way overcharged.

Anyway, the worst thing about California politics is also the best thing about it: The people, when they have a mind to, can get in there and really mess things up. For every half-useful Proposition 13, there is one that's pure art, like the hugely successful voter initiative to end bilingual education in the public schools, an initiative that has ended up helping thousands—maybe millions—of California schoolchildren. Most of the voter initiatives that have stuffed and bloated the California constitution are nonsense—boondoggles and screeds and silliness—but every now and then, something bubbles to the surface.

Maybe Arnold is the guy to bottle those bubbles. Maybe he'll do something about the absurdly restrictive environmental regulations that pre-empt business growth, or the Lotto-sized workmen's-comp giveaways that have wet-blanketed California's prosperity engine. Maybe he'll tackle illegal immigration—I didn't say *solve* it; I said *tackle* it—and high-school illiteracy (among teachers). And if he's mellow about gays and abortion and marijuana, I mean, come on. This is California. A lot of us out here are mellow about those things—but we're still Republicans and still, comparatively at least, conservatives. In California, it is possible to drive an electric car with your third wife to the holistic tea house run by your gay son and his husband on the way to the polling place, where you will vote for Arnold Schwarzenegger because he's a *conservative, dammit, and that's what this country needs*. And if you get that, you get California; if you don't, you don't.

A few months ago, I met a very nice person, prominent in conservative circles. "You're so brave," she said to me, "to be a Republican in Hollywood. It must be so hard to be a conservative out there."

"Well," I said, "I'm a *Republican* but I'm not much of a *conservative*." I didn't bother to squint. She shrugged.

"Whatever," she said. "I mean, out there, who knows? Every time I visit, I'm just struck by how crazy it is."

"Yeah, it is," I agreed.

A moment passed.

"But I like it there," she said.

Me too. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ ELECTIONS

How Do You Like It Now?

Campaign-finance reform, that is. The Democrats and their allies are still wailing

BYRON YORK

"THE political landscape will change when this bill takes effect," said Michigan Democratic senator Carl Levin on March 20, 2002, the day the McCain-Feingold campaign-finance-reform bill was passed. "It will be filled with more people and less influence; more contributors and smaller contributions; more democracy and less elitism."

Back then, reformers liked to say that McCain-Feingold would help "level the playing field" between the parties by getting rid of unlimited soft-money contributions. And indeed—constitutional questions aside—the law has led to more contributors and smaller contributions, as Levin predicted. But now, less than 18 months after the bill was signed into law, some of its supporters are deeply concerned about "flaws" in the system and are once again calling for . . . campaign-finance reform.

"The playing field is not level because the resources that are available to candidates to get their message out are so wildly unequal," says Deborah Goldberg, director of the Democracy Program at the Brennan Center for Justice of New York University School of Law. "It was an unanticipated consequence of reform."

What worries reformers is simple: George W. Bush has been astonishingly successful at raising money for his re-election campaign. In the second quarter of this year, the president raised $34.4 million. In the same period, his nine Democratic opponents raised $30.6 million among them. The most successful Democratic money-raiser, former Vermont governor Howard Dean, collected $7.6 million. The president has declined to accept taxpayer money for the primaries, meaning he can spend what he wants. If Democrats, with less cash on hand, accept public money, they will have to abide by preset spending limits.

That has led some reformers to suggest that the system is "broken." "I think there's pretty widespread agreement that the system needs to be repaired," says Rep. Martin Meehan, a Massachusetts Democrat and one of the original sponsors of the McCain-Feingold bill. "The president can raise and spend about $200 million in the primaries. I don't think it makes any sense for his Democratic opponents to agree to spending limits that don't allow a competitive race."

What particularly frustrates the reformers is that Bush has had such success while strictly abiding by McCain-Feingold. He is collecting thousands of limited, hard-money donations—"totally playing by the rules that were set up," in Meehan's words—just as reformers envisioned. Of course, the same rules apply to everyone else, which suggests that, no matter what the reformers say, the playing field is, in fact, quite level. It's just that one team is clobbering the other. And that has sparked calls to change the rules.

In the next few months, campaign-finance reformers in the House and Senate hope to introduce legislation that would narrow the financial gap between candidates. The proposed bill, which would go into effect for the 2008 election, would increase the amount of money that presidential candidates who choose to accept taxpayer funding would be allowed to spend, and also increase the federal matching funds that those candidates receive. Under the law now, a candidate can receive a dollar-for-dollar match from the federal government on private contributions up to $250. If a contributor gives $250, the candidate gets another $250 from the government, but if a contributor gives the maximum-allowable $2,000, the candidate still gets $250.

Current ideas being discussed could raise the matching amount to $1,000. An even more generous idea under consideration would create a four-to-one match for contributions up to $250. That way, if a contributor gave $250, the candidate would receive $1,000 from the federal government.

Of course, the federal campaign-financing system doesn't have the money to pay for that. So the bill would also raise the amount that taxpayers who wish to contribute to the system could check off on their yearly income-tax returns. Right now, it is $3. Meehan says that figure should be doubled or tripled; others talk of making it an even $10.

One question reformers tend to avoid, as they make their case for raising the check-off amount, is why the system doesn't have more money already. After all, every American who files a tax return has the opportunity to contribute, and if a large number of them did, the system would be well funded.

But Americans don't contribute. Over the years, as they have seen more and more of the system, they support it less and less. In 1976, the first year of the check-off, 27.5 percent of tax filers chose to give $1 to the election fund. That number rose slightly to 28.7 by 1980 and then began a long, long slide. In 1985, 23 percent of tax filers contributed. In 1990, it was 19.5 percent. With the system in need of money, Congress raised the check-off amount to $3. But the percentage of taxpayers choosing to support the system fell even more. By 1995, it was 12.9 percent. By 2002, it was 11.3 percent.

"It's the most complete survey taken in the country on any issue, and you've got 89 percent of the people who don't support [public funding]," says Kentucky Republican senator Mitch McConnell, the man who is leading the current court challenge to McCain-Feingold. "In order to deal with the lack of public interest in having tax money diverted into paying for bumper stickers, balloons, and attack ads, [reformers] want to make it possible for fewer and fewer people to check off more and more money."

In an effort to increase support for the new reform bill, some supporters are raising the specter of Hillary Rodham Clinton's raising enormous, Bush-like sums of money should she run for president in 2008. "If you look at '08, my guess is the person who could raise the most money under the present rules, the way the president has, would be Hillary Clinton," says Meehan, "and I sincerely

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doubt that she would participate in a publicly financed system that is anything like the system now in effect."

But if Mrs. Clinton ran, and if she took no public money, what would be wrong with that (provided she, unlike her husband, relied strictly on legal contributions)? "So be it," says McConnell. "If she has a lot of support, I'm sure she'll raise a lot of money."

Right now, the disparity in the presidential race that has so distressed campaign-finance reformers is even more pronounced in the general fundraising contest between the parties. As it turns out, when McCain-Feingold banned soft-money contributions—the donations Democrats had long condemned—it was Democrats who suffered most, because it was Democrats who, despite all their rhetoric, relied most heavily on big contributions.

A study released in June by the Center for Responsive Politics found that in the last election cycle, people who gave less than $200 to politicians or parties gave 64 percent of their money to Republicans. Just 35 percent went to Democrats. On the other hand, the Center found that people who gave $1 million or more gave 92 percent to Democrats—and just 8 percent to Republicans. "The higher you go in spending, the more likely that money is to wind up in the hands of the Democratic party or Democratic candidates," said Larry Makinson, a senior fellow at the Center. "The more small donations you have in the system, if the historical patterns persist, the more advantage Republicans are going to have."

And that is what Democrats, with their support of reform, have brought on themselves. They can't compete with Republicans for the small donors who are the life's blood of politics. So now they propose a "reform" that would replace with taxpayer money what they have been unable to raise in the political marketplace. Perhaps that will bring them to the storied "level playing field." If it doesn't, there's always more reform. **NR**

■ **THE LAW**

Congress's Patriotic Act

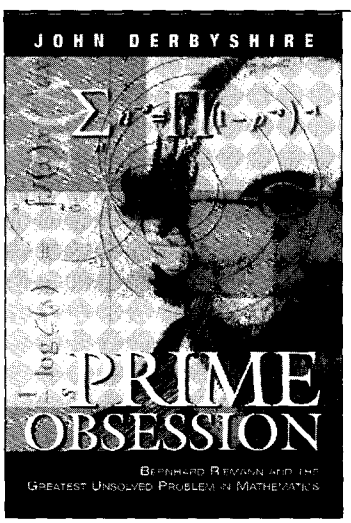
This is a law that defends America and, yes, preserves civil liberties, dammit

KATE O'BEIRNE

WHO says you can't argue with success? In the past two years, terrorist cells in Buffalo, Detroit, Seattle, and Portland, Ore., have been dismantled; criminal charges have been brought against 225 suspected terrorists; and 132 of those suspects have been convicted. Terrorists haven't carried out another attack here because the domestic war on terrorism,

"A remarkable book."
— JOHN F. NASH, JR., 1994 NOBEL PRIZE WINNER IN ECONOMICS

PRIME OBSESSION
BERNHARD RIEMANN AND THE GREATEST UNSOLVED PROBLEM IN MATHEMATICS
JOHN DERBYSHIRE



ISBN 0-309-08549-7 H $27.95

". . . reads like a mystery novel. When, some 300 pages into the book, Derbyshire finally presents Riemann's conclusion, it is with literally breathtaking impact."
— CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"Energetic and conversational . . . Derbyshire's attempt to take non-mathematicians into this subject had me on the edge of my seat."
— LOS ANGELES TIMES

"This is a striking and brilliant book, in many ways the most ambitious science-for-the-public attempt I have ever read. . . . Derbyshire writes with a novelist's eye and ear, and a novelist's feel for the concrete image, the telling detail, the come-hither sentence."
— NATIONAL REVIEW

TO ORDER: Call toll-free **1-888-624-7651** or
Browse before you buy — preview a full-text, searchable version or buy a downloadable PDF online at **www.nap.edu**.

H From Joseph Henry Press an imprint of The National Academies Press

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aimed at prevention, has worked. Yet in July, 113 Republicans voted with a large House majority against a provision in the USA Patriot Act that federal officials see as playing a crucial role in disrupting terrorist plots. Lawmakers' ignorance of the law, the ACLU's effective disinformation campaign, a hostile media, and hysterical, partisan attacks from the presidential campaign trail now have the administration playing defense, despite its remarkably successful offense against terrorism.

Prompted by the recent vote, Attorney General John Ashcroft has embarked on a tour of 18 cities to make the case for the Patriot Act to the public. Ashcroft reminds his audiences that the law, passed in the Senate by a 98-to-1 vote (and in the House by 357 to 66) six weeks after the September 11 attacks, updated the ability of federal law enforcement to confront the threat of terrorism in three central ways. It removed the legal barriers that prevented law-enforcement and intelligence agencies from sharing information and coordinating activities—barriers that Congress criticized in its report on what went wrong before 9/11. It brought surveillance laws from the era of the rotary phone into the age of cell phones and Internet communications. And it extended the authority that federal investigators use against the mafia and drug dealers to cover terrorists.

Where Congress overwhelmingly saw commonsense provisions clearly justified to protect American lives, hysterical critics are seeing a power grab by a would-be totalitarian state. According to a *Los Angeles Times* story, the Patriot Act amounts to "the legislative equivalent of a blank check." The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* spots the "seedstock of a police state." In an alarming *Newsday* op-ed, Sam Dash, the former chief counsel to the Senate Watergate Committee, warns of a presidential abuse of power that rivals the "horror" committed by Richard Nixon. Dash is now a law professor at Georgetown—but, like most of the Patriot Act alarmists, he doesn't cite a single provision of the objectionable law to bolster his case.

Democratic presidential candidates are no more specific. In his "first five seconds as president," Dick Gephardt would fire Ashcroft. Sen. Edwards gets standing ovations for declaring, "We cannot allow people like John Ashcroft to take away our rights and our freedoms." John Kerry vows that when he's president, "there will be no John Ashcroft trampling on the Bill of Rights." Each one of them voted for the Patriot Act; but Howard Dean, a former governor, routinely assails the law itself for eroding "the rights of average Americans," and calls for its repeal.

Even when the media criticize a specific part of the new law, they usually get it wrong. In May, a major *Time* magazine story was subtitled, "Can Attorney General John Ashcroft fight terrorism on our shores without injuring our freedoms?" The demonstrable answer is yes. But the article was riddled with mistakes that led to a different conclusion. For example, the authors asserted, "If you are suspected of terrorist links, law enforcement can access your records, conduct wiretaps and electronic surveillance, search and seize private property and make secret arrests—all without a warrant." In fact, federal authorities can't do any of those things without obtaining a court order.

Hysterical critics are seeing a power grab by a would-be totalitarian state.

In July, when Reps. C. L. "Butch" Otter (R., Idaho) and Dennis Kucinich (D., Ohio) argued for their amendment to prohibit funding for delayed-notification warrants, the discussion on the House floor was equally ignorant. If lawmakers don't want to be bothered understanding the law, they could at least try watching *The Sopranos* to learn how federal investigators lawfully operate. Section 213, the Patriot Act provision that the Otter amendment would de-fund, allows federal investigators to ask a court for permission to temporarily delay notifying a suspect that a court-issued search warrant has been executed. Sens. Patrick Leahy (D., Vt.) and Orrin Hatch (R., Utah) sponsored the provision, which permits delayed notification when there is a risk of flight, injury to an individual, intimidation of witnesses, destruction of evidence, or the serious jeopardizing of an investigation. In 1979, the Supreme Court called an argument that the practice is unconstitutional "frivolous." Without the ability to postpone notice of a warrant, investigators would be unable to install a wiretap in a terrorist's apartment without first informing the suspect.

The Justice Department is required to provide Congress with details on the implementation of the Patriot Act twice a year. In a 60-page report this May, the department explained that in the past two years, delayed-notice warrants under Section 213 had been sought (and approved) by courts just 47 times. This wasn't mentioned during the House's hasty consideration of the Otter amendment. Instead, Rep. Otter ludicrously claimed that Section 213 permits the CIA to operate domestically. Rep. Kucinich ignored the federal courts that have upheld the constitutionality of delaying notification of a warrant, and rested his own constitutional objection on the "common law." The amendment has not yet passed the Senate, but the administration is threatening a veto if it does.

A Republican congressional aide explains that over 100 House Republicans were not so much relying on Dennis Kucinich's legal opinions as they were reflecting what they are hearing from their constituents back home. The aide reports that his office is receiving copies of news articles about the Patriot Act from Republican constituents concerned about the alleged assaults on civil liberties. Another GOP aide notes that constituents vehemently opposed to the war in Iraq also strenuously object to the Patriot Act; voting for the amendment "gives members some cover."

Former assistant attorney general Viet Dinh, who began crafting the Patriot Act within days of 9/11, has been publicly engaging its critics over their wildly exaggerated case. In a recent debate, when Dinh had successfully defended the act's provisions, his opponent finally allowed that the alarming problem "is not within the Patriot Act, but the milieu of fear you've created." That would be a small milieu. According to a recent poll, 91 percent of the public says that the Act hasn't affected their own civil liberties.

Critics of the Patriot Act would rather rely on hypothetical questions, such as that cited recently in *USA Today*. According to Gallup, only 33 percent of Americans favor the government's taking all steps necessary to prevent terrorism "even if it means that your basic civil liberties would be violated." The two-thirds that would oppose eroding civil liberties includes Attorney General John Ashcroft. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ **PUBLIC POLICY**

Like Drunken Sailors, Part MMCCXVIII

Congress, and the president, just can't—won't—stop spending

STEPHEN MOORE

BEFORE Congress departed for its August recess, conservatives suffered a series of budget-policy setbacks—each of which dramatized the sudden ascendancy of big-government Republicanism in Washington.

■ All but 19 House Republicans voted to approve the Medicare prescription-drug bill, the biggest new entitlement program since the 1960s; the Senate passed an even more expensive version. Economic forecasters say the bill will add another $5 trillion of unfunded liabilities to the system—the equivalent of doubling the national debt with one stroke of the pen.

■ The White House Office of Management and Budget projected a deficit of $455 billion this year, and nearly $500 billion in 2004.

■ The House of Representatives approved a $10 million expansion of the National Endowment for the Arts. For nearly a quarter-century, Republicans have been pledging to eliminate this program outright.

Now let's engage in a quick thought-experiment. Imagine that Al Gore and a Democratic Congress were doing all this profligate spending. Would conservatives stand for it? In fact, none of this budget-bloating is being perpetrated by Democrats (though they are willing accomplices). Fiscal sanity is in retreat, under a solidly Republican regime.

"The votes for fiscal-conservative policies have completely disappeared, even within our own Republican caucus," grouses Rep. Pat Toomey of Pennsylvania. Another of the few remaining budget hawks in the House, Jeff Flake of Arizona, moans that "almost every vote we take on the House floor is to expand the size of the state. Almost none are to make it smaller." Things have gotten so bad in the House that after Republicans approved a $400 billion spending bill earlier this year—one filled with absurd programs like the Cowgirl Hall of Fame and sweet-potato research—the GOP leadership brazenly released a manifesto urging members to go back home and boast about the pork.

As a consequence, we are witnessing the worst three-year run-up of the deficit in history. Also, according to a new Cato Institute report, the domestic discretionary budget—which is where you find the low-hanging fruit of the federal government, like Amtrak and "corporate welfare"—grew by more than 12 percent last year. It is expected to rise by another 12 percent, or more, this year.

The $1.8 trillion budget that President Bush inherited from President Clinton has swollen to $2.2 trillion—in an era of almost no inflation. The White House has yet to call for the elimination of even one major government program, and the GOP Congress has happily gone along. We have certainly come a long way from the days when Barry Goldwater declared that he wanted "not to inaugurate new programs, but to cancel old ones."

The Republican failure to cut spending stands in stark contrast to the Bush administration's stellar record in chopping anti-growth taxes. In the Reagan years, supply-siders forecast that we would eventually grow our way out of budget deficits, and they were soon proven correct: With 4 percent real economic growth and 3 percent spending growth each year, tax revenues caught up with and surpassed federal expenditures. But on the new spending path Republicans have put us on, we would need about 8 percent economic growth for six straight years to get close to a balanced budget.

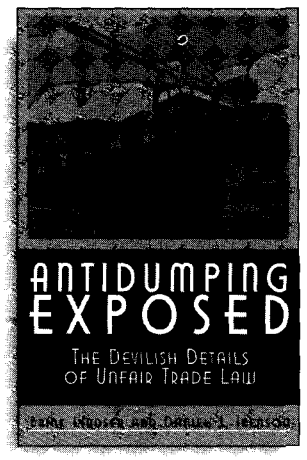
In Bush's defense, it should be noted that the war on terrorism has carried with it a hefty price tag, and that includes the Iraq campaign. The White House is right that a lot of the domestic-spending bulge is for

Mr. Moore is president of the Club for Growth and a senior fellow at the Cato Institute.

CATO INSTITUTE

NEW AND FORTHCOMING BOOKS

CIVIL SOCIETY • INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY
FREE MARKETS • LIMITED GOVERNMENT



Antidumping Exposed: The Devilish Details of Unfair Trade Law

Brink Lindsey and Daniel J. Ikenson

You've heard the terms "fair trade" and "level playing field." Did you know they are euphemisms for protectionism? These fig leaves are used to justify harassment of foreign competitors under politically expedient antidumping rules. As the "Doha Round" of multilateral trade negotiations enters a critical phase, antidumping reform is shaping up to be a linchpin issue. Presently, the U.S. stands alone in opposing meaningful reform–an untenable position. In this book, the authors, from Cato's Center for Trade Policy Studies, explain how these insidious rules have endured, and why and how to promote a successful reform strategy.
228 pp./$24.95 cloth ISBN 1-930865-48-1

Available at bookstores nationwide.
To order call 1-800-767-1241
or visit www.cato.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

necessary homeland-security measures. But at the same time, the huge burst in education spending, the hike in farm aid, and, of course, that colossal new entitlement, the prescription-drug bill, are wholly unrelated to national security. The administration's central failing in economic policy may be its unwillingness to set and enforce spending priorities. In almost every national-security crisis in U.S. history, the demand for more guns has meant less spending for butter; this administration has approved large budget increases for both.

The White House should start worrying about the political implications of its expanding budgets. On July 26, a group of 20 top conservative leaders from organizations including Cato, the Heritage Foundation, the American Conservative Union, and the Eagle Forum assembled to launch a counteroffensive. "Conservatives and libertarians cannot be silent on this disgraceful growth of government, simply because it is Republicans who are doing all the spending," fumed Cato president Ed Crane. Everyone in the room nodded in agreement.

Undoubtedly, the most immediate priority for conservatives is to stop the runaway-train drug bill. At stake here is whether Republicans will bust the Treasury the way Lyndon Johnson did in 1965, by creating a Medicare program that now costs five times what it was expected to. A Heritage Foundation report finds that the drug bill would be so expensive that further tax cuts would be politically impossible for at least another decade. This is the biggest battle between statism and free-market policies in Washington since the Clintons' only slightly more grandiose health legislation went down in flames ten years ago.

Equally important for rolling back big government is the crusade to create a private-investment option for Social Security. President Bush is on the right side of this issue; I believe the White House is sincere when it says that this would be the top domestic priority for a Bush second term. (For this reason alone, Bush needs to be resoundingly reelected.) "People forget that Social Security is nearly 25 percent of the whole federal budget," says Mike Tanner, Social Security expert at Cato. If the drug bill is Pearl Harbor for Republicans, Social Security privatization is the Allied landing at Normandy.

Next is the problem of fixing the budget process, which for too long has tilted in the direction of ever more obese budgets. Imagine trying to win a game of Monopoly with an opponent who assigns himself the role of banker, and continually slips wads of $500 bills to himself under the table. That is essentially the modern-day federal budget process, where we have assigned the role of banker to the appropriators—the very ones who have been pre-selected for their desire to break the bank (it's very hard for a fiscal conservative to get on the Appropriations Committee). "The incentive structure of the budget process is, and has been for at least 30 years, to spend money, never to save it," laments former House budget chief John Kasich.

ROMAN GENN

Republicans should scrap the 1974 Budget Act in favor of one that eliminates current-services budgeting (which builds in automatic budget increases every year). They should also impose a Colorado-style expenditure-limitation measure capping spending at population plus inflation each year; impose six-year-term limits on service on the Appropriations Committee; and sunset federal agencies every five years so that failing bureaucracies don't survive owing to mere inertia. This actually happens. The paid "volunteer" program called AmeriCorps has been graded a failure by one government report after another; only about half of its missions succeed, and there has been widespread theft and fraud. Yet somehow the program's budget has been doubled in ten years. We now have a perverse system in which tax cuts automatically expire after a decade, but spending programs live forever.

Congress should also require that all new spending programs be approved by a newly created committee that would certify whether the program is permissible under Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution. As much as 80 percent of what Congress spends money on is outside the bounds of the original intent of the enumerated-powers clause. It's not an oversight, for example, that the word "education" appears nowhere in the Constitution; the Founders never envisioned that Congress would or should spend money on schools—a state and local function—or, for that matter, to bail out industries or line the pockets of wealthy farm businesses.

Yet another pressing task is to crack down on Uncle Sam's financial malfeasance. A new General Accounting Office report indicates that taxpayers are being defrauded of billions of dollars by ineptitude, mismanagement, and fraud at government agencies. In 2002 the Agriculture Department sent out $1 billion in food stamps to people who don't qualify; as many as 45 percent of the school-lunch payments are similarly erroneous. The Medicare system had an error rate of 6.3 percent in payments (believe it or not, that was an improvement from previous years), thus bilking taxpayers out of $13.3 billion. The Pentagon can't account for over $10 billion it spent last year; the Education Department sent out $400 million in fraudulent student-aid checks; the list could go on and on. Here's a quick way to save tens of billions of dollars a year: establish a policy that any agency unable to pass a basic audit is disqualified for a budget increase in the following year.

Alas, all of these structural reforms are predicated on the assumption that Republicans actually *want* to control the bulging federal waistline. And any reorientation of the party ethic from spending money to saving it depends on President Bush himself. He has proven time and again that he has a singular capacity to lead the party; he needs to understand that restoring fiscal discipline is a much higher priority right now than giving free drugs to the richest age group in America. **NR**

ARTICLES CONTINUE ON PAGE 35.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and

Development

MADE POSSIBLE BY

Bush as Trader

One step forward, two steps back

BRINK LINDSEY

As of this moment, the Bush administration's trade-policy record is a mixture of big wins for protectionism and modest advances for free trade. Which means that, so far, everything is going pretty much according to plan.

On the debit side of the ledger are two glaring sellouts from the spring of 2002: first, the decision in March to impose tariffs of up to 30 percent on imported steel; second, the May signing of an atrocious farm bill packed with market-distorting subsidies. Although both moves were bitter disappointments for free-market supporters, they were not random concessions to political expediency. Rather, they were elements of a conscious, high-risk strategy to revive U.S. trade leadership after years of drift. Whether the gamble will pay off won't be known for some time.

The Bush trade strategy arose as a response to the failures of the prior administration. The Clinton years did see some significant trade accomplishments, but the biggest two—NAFTA and the Uruguay Round of global trade talks—came early. Indeed, Bill Clinton entered office in 1993 with NAFTA already signed and the Uruguay Round on the verge of completion. After those initiatives were wrapped up, the Clinton team allowed trade momentum to sputter. With the notable exception of permanent normal trade relations with China, the last six years of the Clinton administration produced few trade successes. Meanwhile, two debacles—the failure to win renewal of "fast track" trade-promotion authority (which expired in April 1994) and the collapse of WTO talks amid rioting in Seattle—called into serious question the U.S. commitment to continuing market-opening negotiations.

The Bush administration resolved to turn things around. The first step was renewing trade-promotion authority (TPA), since a congressional commitment to vote on trade deals up or down, without amendments, would greatly facilitate the task of negotiating new agreements. Unfortunately, getting TPA took much longer and cost much more than anticipated. Although the new administration began pushing Congress to move almost immediately after the inauguration, it wasn't until August 2002 that President Bush was finally able to sign legislation. By that time, he had caved on steel tariffs, the farm bill, and protectionist demands from textile and lumber producers in an effort to procure the necessary votes.

Making specific protectionist concessions to cement congressional support for broader market-opening negotiations is nothing new: This "one step back, two steps forward" strategy has been a recurring feature of U.S. trade policy since World War II. It has worked in the past, and in the narrowest sense it worked again this time—that is, President Bush got his TPA and, with it, the congressional mandate to seek and sign new trade deals. However, a strong case can be made that the price was too high. The combined effect of the administration's various protectionist moves was to swing only a very few votes into the pro–TPA column; other vote-buying strategies—corporate welfare for import-competing industries or added subsidies for their dislocated workers—could have brought in as many votes with less

Mr. Lindsey is director of the Cato Institute's Center for Trade Policy Studies, and author of *Against the Dead Hand: The Uncertain Struggle for Global Capitalism.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

damage to U.S. trade policy. The steel tariffs and new farm subsidies provoked howls of protest around the world and dealt body blows to U.S. credibility. How could the United States lecture the rest of the world about the virtues of free trade, and the need to take political risks on behalf of same, when it couldn't even stand up to 200,000 steelworkers? The one step back, it has turned out, was much bigger than the Bush team had planned. Consequently, coming out ahead in the end will be that much more difficult.

The steel tariffs in particular continue to produce headaches. A dispute-settlement panel has ruled that the tariffs were imposed in violation of WTO rules. The United States is appealing the decision, but it's virtually certain to lose again—and then face European retaliation against U.S. exports. Just as the 2004 campaign is gearing up, the White House will have to confront the agonizing choice of ending the tariffs—and risking the ire of voters in battleground industrial states—or else bowing to trade sanctions that have been designed by the Europeans to target key industries in other swing states.

But enough about the spilt milk. U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick and the rest of the Bush trade team are now working aggressively to make the most of their investment in TPA. The big prize is a new WTO agreement that reduces barriers to trade and investment on a global basis. In November 2001, the Bush administration overcame the obstacles that had proved insuperable in Seattle and launched a fresh round of WTO talks at a ministerial meeting in Doha, Qatar.

The Doha Round is scheduled for completion at the end of 2004—but don't hold your breath. Negotiators will have to sort out a host of contentious issues, none more complicated and politically explosive than agriculture trade barriers and subsidies. The Bush administration has signaled its willingness to make deep cuts—in effect, to undo much of what was signed into law last year—but only if the E.U. and Japan, whose farm policies are even more horrendous than ours, agree to cut even deeper. The first outlines of a possible U.S.-E.U. compromise position emerged recently in preparation for the WTO ministerial meeting in September in Cancun, Mexico. But barring an unexpected breakthrough in Cancun, the Doha Round is likely to drag on for years past the scheduled deadline.

Although strongly committed to seeking progress at the WTO, the Bush team is not putting all its eggs in that basket. Instead, it has launched an ambitious new program of "competitive liberalization"—in other words, entering into bilateral and regional trade agreements with a growing "coalition of the willing." Singapore and Chile are the first partners to have signed up; free-trade agreements with those two countries were finalized earlier this year and recently sailed through Congress.

In addition, FTA negotiations are now under way with Australia, Morocco, five Central American countries (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua), and the five nations of the Southern African Customs Union (Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, and Swaziland); negotiations will soon commence with Bahrain and the Dominican Republic. Meanwhile, talks for a hemisphere-wide Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) continue to putter along, although differences over agriculture subsidies probably ensure that the FTAA, if it is to happen at all, will have to await the conclusion of the Doha Round.

This flurry of activity for regional and bilateral deals has raised concerns that the United States is abandoning its traditional commitment to the broader multilateral trading system. Don't lose sleep over that one: This administration has been quite active at the WTO and is pushing hard for progress there. The fact, though, is that global trade rounds are few and far between; since the Kennedy Round ended in 1967, only two other agreements (the Tokyo Round and the Uruguay Round) have been concluded over the subsequent three-and-a-half decades. To its credit, the Bush team isn't content to wait around for the next return of the multilateral comet.

Other administration critics have sniped at the selection of FTA partners. And it's true that the current list of countries is long on economic lightweights. Nevertheless, as my Cato colleague Dan Griswold has pointed out, combining Chile, Singapore, and the other countries now negotiating FTAs with us would make for the world's ninth largest economy and the U.S.'s fourth biggest export market. That's not chump change. Furthermore, trade policy serves more than purely commercial objectives; it's also a useful instrument of diplomacy. Encouraging economic reform in Central America and southern Africa through trade agreements is a smart and effective way to lend a helping hand to people struggling to escape poverty. And expanding U.S. economic engagement with the Muslim world—the Bush administration has announced that the planned FTAs with Morocco and Bahrain (as well as existing ones with Israel and Jordan) will serve as building blocks for an eventual U.S.-Middle East free trade area—is a critical adjunct to the larger war on terrorism.

Can the Bush administration make good on its ambitious plans? Time will tell. The achievement of a real and lasting trade legacy will require threading the needle with often-fractious trading partners and an always demanding Congress. And it will require reelection in 2004 to get the time needed to finish the job. For now, give the Bush trade record a flawed but promising "incomplete." **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Euro-Protection

Free trade? On the Continent? Ha!

AARON McLOUGHLIN

THIS month, a chartered British Airways Boeing 747 will fly from Brussels, the capital of the European Union, to Cancun, a Mexican holiday resort and the venue of the Fifth Ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization. On board the jumbo jet will be the European Commission's trade negotiators and a cast of supporting actors, including E.U. politicians, spokesmen, and lawyers, officials from E.U.-friendly NGOs, and a bevy of journalists hand-picked to ensure that the "right" message is sent home to Europe. It seems unlikely that this jumbo jet of junketeers will do much good in Cancun; based on their past record, it is more likely that they will prevent good from being done.

In principle, the citizens of the 15 current members of the E.U. and 10 accession states stand to benefit enormously from an opening of international trade. Competition from imports would drive down costs and drive up quality, improving productivity and making the cash in consumers' pockets go further. Meanwhile, the ability to export with fewer restrictions would lead to new and expanded markets for goods produced in Europe. The benefits of trade liberalization to Europeans would be immense.

So much for the theory. In reality, trade policy in the E.U. is driven by powerful vested interests. To the extent that ideology enters the debate, it is rarely from a pro-trade perspective. On the positive side, the E.U. wants to open export markets for its leading industries, including finance and telecoms. On the negative side, it wants to protect big landowners and other beneficiaries of existing agriculture subsidies and trade restrictions.

Europe spends over 40 billion subsidizing its farmers every year through a scheme called the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP). As with so many subsidy schemes, CAP has been extremely resistant to reform because the beneficiaries are a small group of vested interests, while the costs are spread out among Europe's 380 million citizens.

Although the CAP has many detractors in Europe, the vested interests so far have mostly had their way. But in 2001, the E.U. signed up for a new round of trade negotiations, in which all members of the WTO committed themselves to negotiate an agreement on reducing trade-distorting agriculture subsidies. The problem is that so far it has not been possible to broker a deal that is acceptable to the major agricultural exporting countries.

One reason is that France's president, Jacques Chirac—a former farm minister—continues to oppose CAP reform. He fancies himself the defender of France's farmers and, together with Chancellor Schroeder of Germany, is committed to delaying any reform of the CAP for as long as possible.

The E.U. Commission's Directorate General for Trade (the equivalent of the U.S. Trade Representative) is directed by Pascal Lamy, a Frenchman whose term as trade commissioner ends next year. The stakes for Cancun are thus raised because Lamy is keen to broker a trade deal before he leaves. But he obviously wants a deal that is seen as positive not only for Europe but also for his homeland, France, where he will no doubt seek political office.

France is—on the surface at least—the most obstinate supporter of agricultural subsidies in the E.U.; but beneath the surface all is not well with the country's pro-CAP lobby. Tenant farmers realize that subsidies drive up rents and reduce their flexibility to deal with changing conditions. With many small French farmers now opposed to CAP, it is unclear how long Chirac and his ilk will be able to continue to support their farmer friends. Could socialist Lamy become the hero of the French industrial class by finally taking a stand against the farmers?

In a year's time, the membership of the E.U. will expand to 25 from its present cozy 15—and the new members are all major agricultural producers. Under the current scheme the incoming farmers will receive only a fraction of what farmers in the 15 current members get. This dual system will inevitably create tensions and lead to pressure for further reform. The elimination of production subsidies will become a real possibility. Added to this is the very real possibility that the entire round of trade negotiations might founder if the E.U. does not agree to reduce its farm subsidies to a level acceptable to agricultural exporters; the latter are reluctant to accept

Chirac: friend of the farmer?

DARREN GYGI

Mr. McLoughlin is director of the International Policy Network's Freedom to Trade Campaign.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any trade agreement that does not include massive reform of the CAP.

Another constituency for change can be found in the poorest nations: For them, CAP reform is a life-and-death matter. Seventy percent of the population of the poorest countries is involved in agriculture. Most of these people are subsistence farmers, producing just enough to survive—in a good year. In bad years, millions of subsistence farmers and their families starve to death or die of malnutrition-related diseases. The E.U. champions itself as a friend of people in poor countries, but their behavior tells a different story. Take sugar: According to the E.U.'s official Court of Auditors, Europe pays farmers 225 percent more for sugar than the prevailing world market price. Much of this sugar is then dumped on poor-country markets, undermining what would otherwise be successful sugar industries. The same is true for many of the products subsidized under CAP, with surpluses driving down prices and destroying local markets for farmers in poor countries. The International Monetary Fund recently estimated that worldwide elimination of all agriculture subsidies and tariff barriers would lead to a 1.24 percent increase in GDP for sub-Saharan African countries.

Many poor countries are eager to remove barriers to trade in agricultural products and textiles. But they also realize that the E.U., Japan, and the U.S. are reluctant to liberalize trade in these goods. To improve their bargaining position, many of these exporting countries have resisted overtures from the U.S. and Europe to liberalize trade in industrial goods—and some have been demanding special protection from imports.

In a desperate attempt to protect European farmers, the E.U. has pushed all manner of non-trade issues in the WTO—including competition policy, investment, and the relationship between the WTO and multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs). The objective of loading the agenda with these items is to divert resources and attention away from the most important item: liberalization of trade in agriculture. The E.U. has sought to broaden the agenda in order to reduce the likelihood of a negotiated outcome. In talks on investment, for example, it has proposed criteria to evaluate corporate investments on environmental grounds. This is unlikely to be acceptable to most WTO members and might become a sticking point—or at least be used as a bargaining chip. The E.U. also succeeded in sidetracking trade talks into a contentious negotiation over an agreement to allow poor countries without a pharmaceutical industry to import generic copies of drugs from overseas. As a result of these E.U. tactics, a deadline for agreement on "modalities" for agriculture negotiations passed without result at the end of March 2003.

Fortunately, the heat has turned up somewhat since then. Quite rightly, negotiators from poor countries refused to accept the rather pathetic offers put on the table by Lamy; they knew he was holding out and they decided to call his bluff. Then, in mid August, the U.S. and Europe announced a transatlantic deal to reduce trade-distorting support to agriculture. (The announcement, however, made no mention of specific figures or time frames; and, at the time of writing, it seems unlikely that this deal will be approved by the WTO's other members.)

Europe must learn that trade is a two-way street, a process of exchange that leads to benefits all around. If poor countries are ever going to kick the aid habit, farmers in wealthy countries will have to be weaned off agriculture subsidies. This is the best way to help people in poor countries to escape poverty, and to generate income to purchase the services that Europe wants desperately to sell them. Probably no such deals will be struck at the Cancun WTO meeting, and the Doha Round negotiations will remain stalled. Outside the official negotiations, anti-globalization activists may try to claim credit for the meeting's failure. But there should be no mistake: This dubious honor will lie with the European Union and its jumbo-jet passengers, who will do all in their power to protect their vested interests and prevent progress in trade negotiations. **NR**

Mercantilism Today

How a dead philosophy comes back to life

JULIAN MORRIS

EXPORTS are good and imports bad, right? Wrong. *All* trade—whether it is import or export, within nations or between them—leads to economic growth, better jobs, and better health. Import barriers, by contrast, cause real economic and social damage. In mid September, trade ministers will meet in Cancun for the Fifth Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization—and it's essential that these negotiators remain focused on liberalizing trade instead of getting sidetracked by protectionists.

The view that trade policy should focus on increasing exports and restricting imports can be traced back to the mercantilist pamphleteers of the 16th and 17th centuries. Funded by merchants seeking to promote their own interests, these early spin doctors claimed that the wealth of nations was a function of the balance of trade: the larger the trade surplus, the wealthier the country.

In 1776, Adam Smith debunked the mercantilists with a lengthy tome explaining the true nature and causes of the wealth of nations. He showed that wealth arose from people owning property and trading with one another. These activities lead to specialization and competition, which in turn drive the development of better, cheaper, more efficient goods (and modes of production) and, ultimately, economic growth. Sadly,

Mr. Morris is director of the International Policy Network and a visiting professor at the University of Buckingham in England. He will be reporting on the negotiations in Cancun for National Review Online.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Smith's analysis has rarely been heeded by governments, which continue to follow mercantilist policies.

Fortunately, some of today's most visible pamphleteers are fighting for trade liberalization. My own organization has established a global Freedom to Trade Campaign, with over 20 member groups from around the world, to demand the removal of government-imposed trade barriers of all kinds. These pro-trade forces have been aided considerably by multilateral trade negotiations, in which governments use their own protectionist trade barriers as bargaining chips in a huge game of "I'll cut mine, if you cut yours." The framework of rules established, first, in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and, subsequently, in the World Trade Organization (WTO) has served to encourage compliance with the agreements and to foster further liberalization.

While the GATT and WTO have accomplished much, there is one area where they have abjectly failed: agriculture. Politically powerful agricultural interests in Europe, the U.S., and Japan have maintained very harmful systems of subsidies and trade restrictions. But there are signs that the power of the agro-mercantilists is declining.

Most poor countries favor changes to WTO rules that would enable them to increase their exports of agricultural product. Because they account for a significant majority in the WTO, poor countries are in principle able to sway the outcome of negotiations. When trade ministers met in Doha, Qatar, for the Fourth Ministerial Conference of the WTO in 2001, they agreed to negotiate an agreement on opening up markets for agricultural products as part of a comprehensive new round of trade negotiations called the Doha Round.

But there's still a hitch. Even though people in poor countries stand to gain enormously from trade liberalization, their governments are often opposed to liberalization of imports. The main drivers of this opposition are local vested interests. "Development" NGOs also cause problems: They make much of the desirability of increasing imports from poor countries, but at the same time they demand that poor countries themselves be allowed to protect their local producers. They call such policies "fair trade," but their effect is far from fair, serving primarily to protect powerful special interests in the poor countries, while harming everyone else.

If more efficient imported technologies are made too expensive by tariffs or quotas, people will continue to buy the old technologies produced by local companies. That may seem like good news for the local economy, but it isn't. "Protected" companies end up producing goods that nobody wants, as foreign companies develop better, cheaper, and more efficient goods. The result is inefficiency and corruption, as companies pay ever-increasing sums to government officials in order to retain their protection from competition. Moreover, other local companies must pay higher prices for products—so they become less competitive internationally.

Too few drugs are getting through to the people who need them most.

In their eagerness to start a new round of negotiations, trade ministers agreed in Doha to revise and strengthen the provisions on "special and differential treatment" (S&D), which enable some countries to retain mercantilist policies. But negotiators failed to reach agreement on how to revise the S&D provisions, and this became one of the sticking points on the road to Cancun.

A more emotive issue has been the ongoing battle over implementation of a commitment to allow poor countries to produce and import generic copies of drugs that are still on patent in rich countries. As with S&D, this commitment was driven by a combination of vested interests and NGOs. The vested interests are the generics producers in countries such as India, Argentina, and Brazil, who don't want to pay royalties to the companies that developed the pharmaceuticals they produce. The NGOs are a hodgepodge of health and development groups claiming that because patent holders have exclusive licenses to market patented products, they will charge prices the poor cannot afford.

Patents do allow companies some flexibility to choose the price at which they sell their products. That's why they exist: They enable the companies to make a return on the huge investments they make in research and development. But patents are not a significant barrier to access. Indeed, 99 percent of the drugs that are most desperately needed—including medications for malaria, AIDS, TB, and many other diseases of poverty—are not on patent in most of the poorest countries. Where they are patented, pharmaceutical companies have donated drugs or sold them at or close to cost price.

Even so, too few drugs are getting through to the people who need them most. In India, there are no patents on any medicinal products, and over 20,000 pharmaceutical companies are churning out generics—but of the 4 million or more people in India infected with HIV, fewer than 10,000 are receiving any anti-retrovirals. The reason is that other factors, chiefly poverty and its main cause—oppressive, corrupt, and inefficient government—are preventing effective distribution of drugs.

The campaign against drug patents is counterproductive on many levels. First, it risks undermining investments in new drug therapies. Investment in AIDS drug development has already fallen off, perhaps in part as a response to the threat of widespread generic production. Second, the campaign has encouraged the corrupt leaders of countries such as Zimbabwe to blame rich Western drug companies for the ills that the leaders themselves have created. Nevertheless, it remains plausible that patents could have an effect on access to medicines, and it is important that poor countries have the means to deliver essential medicines to their populations. Beyond the normal bargaining with patent holders—which has so far proven to be a successful means of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ensuring that drugs are supplied at reasonable prices—governments have the legal mechanism of the "compulsory license," by which they can if necessary override patents and allow generic production. Under current international rules, compulsory licenses are permitted but must be used predominantly for locally produced drugs. This can cause difficulty for poor countries that lack sufficient production, which is why, as part of the Doha text, trade ministers agreed to negotiate a solution to this problem.

Unfortunately, negotiation of a solution has been held up by disagreements over the scope of the measure, both in terms of the diseases that are covered and the countries that would be able to utilize it. Some countries have sought to expand the number of diseases covered indefinitely, so that politically powerful local generics producers could continue to produce copies of *all* patented drugs without paying royalties. Meanwhile, a number of richer countries have sought to use patent reform as a means of reducing the amount that they spend on medicines. The U.S. opposed these proposals on the very reasonable grounds that they would undermine investment and would not address the issue at hand.

It is to be hoped that, by the time this is published, an agreement will have been reached that provides for an effective safety valve for poor countries without undermining the incentives of research-based pharmaceutical companies. If the deal is done, Cancun can focus on the primary issue: removing subsidies to agriculture and opening up borders to trade in all manner of goods and services. If such a deal is not achieved, Cancun could become another Seattle: a frustrating, ultimately pointless talking shop bedeviled by protests.

Philosophically, mercantilism died in 1776; but in policy circles it has been resurrected over and over again by special interests and their friends in the naïve world of public-interest advocacy. It's time for more sensible voices to prevail. NR

Trade, Not Aid

What Africa needs

THOMPSON AYODELE

"If you want something done well," goes the old saying, "do it yourself." After many years of looking to others to solve its problems, Africa is beginning to follow this advice—or so its leaders promise. Trade, not aid, is now being promoted by African heads of state as the primary driver of economic development, the one way to improve the lives of millions of impoverished Africans. But the current view is still focused too much on what can be done by rich countries, and too little on what needs to be done at home, by African governments themselves. As African leaders gather in Cancun for the World Trade Organization's Fifth Ministerial Conference, the people of Africa hope that they will use this opportunity finally to commit to free trade on the continent.

For many years, there has been a tendency, both inside and outside Africa, to blame the continent's woes on the policies of rich countries. While there is some truth to these allegations, the critics of wealthy nations never tell the full story. In one area, however, they are correct: Rich countries—especially the E.U., the U.S., and Japan—restrict imports and subsidize exports of agricultural products, depressing world market prices for these goods and forcing Africans to import food that they themselves could grow more efficiently. Such policies harm Africa's farmers by reducing their profits and slowing economic development.

External factors are only a small part of the problem, however. Far more troublesome are the trade barriers African countries erect against one another, resulting in the inefficiency, lack of integration, and poverty that plague the continent. The long borders between African nations cause nothing but woe for millions of African traders. High tariffs and other restrictions turn what should be routine border checks into lengthy episodes involving harassment and kickbacks, with state officials demanding bribes to allow even the most basic goods to cross the border. Business trips that would otherwise take only a few hours eventually expand into an entire day or more. In the process, perishable goods spoil and valuables are stolen.

Excruciatingly high taxes are also to blame for the low levels of trade between African nations. While there is much talk of integrating various regions by creating free-trade zones, there has been little action to this end. The Abuja Treaty of 1994 provided for the phasing-out of trade barriers and the creation of a customs union with a uniform external tariff. But the average tariff rate in Africa is still extremely high: 19 percent, among the steepest in the world. The result is that exports from Senegal and Cameroon, for example, find their way directly into French markets, but not those of their African neighbors.

The easing of border restrictions to allow the free movement of goods within the region would enable Africa to avoid marginalization and to compete in global markets. In spite of low intra-Africa trade volume, many inward-looking leaders—in some cases, claiming a national-security emergency; in others, openly bowing to politically powerful local industries seeking protection from competition—are calling for outright border closure. Citing war as an excuse, Audu Ogbeh, the chairman of the ruling party in Nigeria, recently announced that the Nigerian government plans to shut permanently its border with neighboring

Mr. Ayodele is the coordinator of the Institute of Public Policy Analysis in Lagos, Nigeria, and a fellow of the International Policy Network in London.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

West African countries. The people of Liberia and Nigeria know that trade between neighbors leads to peace; their leaders apparently have other priorities.

When governments deny their people the right to trade, they simply encourage and perpetuate corruption. And the price of corruption is paid by those who can least afford it: poor consumers. For them, corruption increases the cost of living and makes their lives nothing short of miserable. Free trade is an effective tool against corruption, as it does not require goods to bribe their way into markets. Moreover, free markets improve industrial efficiency. Larger markets allow businesses to take advantage of economies of scale. Competition among producers forces uncompetitive industries and businesses to close up shop or change their operations to produce a better product. This is a great boon to consumers, who have access to high-quality goods at low prices. All of these measures will increase economic growth, thereby attracting both local and foreign investors.

When the world turns its attention to Africa, its focus is always on poverty. Africa's leaders need to recognize that free trade is the only way truly to empower impoverished Africans. Eliminating tariffs, quotas, and other policies that currently frustrate trade does not involve financial commitments or help from foreign governments: All that is required is for African leaders to give up their protection of local political interests.

As the world moves toward greater economic integration, Africa must not be found wanting. Many African countries joined the WTO in the name of liberalizing trade and promoting economic growth—and preventing a return to the era of trade barriers, economic nationalism, protectionism, and the myriad other measures that check the entrepreneurial spirit. African governments must now give the people of Africa the freedom to trade with one another. Until they are ready to do this, their continent will fall further and further behind the rest of the world. **NR**

To the Benefit of Both

Why trade with the PRC?

DANIEL T. GRISWOLD

CHINA looms as the next big thing in trade-policy discontent. An unlikely coalition comprising the National Association of Manufacturers, union leaders, anti-trade Naderites, and conservative lawmakers critical of China's human-rights record is complaining with growing volume about rising imports from the Middle Kingdom.

Like the fears about Japan in the late 1980s, anxieties about trade with China lack a firm foundation. Despite the discomfort it causes for certain U.S. producers, trade with China is mutually beneficial. Chinese workers gain from the opportunity to sell the products of their labor to a global market; Americans—consumers and producers alike—benefit from the low prices, variety, and competition of imports from China. Raising barriers to commercial engagement with China would damage our economy and undermine security and human rights.

Most American families benefit unambiguously from trade with China. The clothing, furniture, toys, and electronics that make up a big chunk of Chinese imports keep prices down in American stores and raise the real wages of American families, especially those with middling or low incomes. Lower-cost parts and other intermediate goods from China—such as computer hard drives and plastic moldings—allow American manufacturers to retain their competitive edge in global markets.

Although imports from China have grown rapidly, they are nothing like a flood. In 2002, Americans bought $125 billion worth of goods made in China—which represents only 10 percent of our total imports ($1.2 trillion) and a tiny fraction of our $10.4 trillion economy. There is nothing wrong with Americans' spending 1 percent of their income on products made by the one-fifth of mankind that lives in mainland China.

And, despite the warning that U.S. factories are moving in droves to China, American investment in the mainland remains modest. Annual outflows of manufacturing investment to China average about $1 billion, less than 1 percent of the $200 billion or so that is invested each year in our own domestic manufacturing capacity. At the end of 2001, American companies directly owned and controlled $7 billion worth of manufacturing investment in China—which amounts to less than 2 percent of the total stock of U.S. direct manufacturing investment abroad, and far less than the $35 billion American companies own in the (tiny) Netherlands.

Critics ignore China's own growing appetite for goods. While China is the world's sixth-leading exporter, it is also the world's sixth-leading importer. Because of soaring domestic demand, it

Mr. Griswold is associate director of the Center for Trade Policy Studies at the Cato Institute.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has now displaced the United States as the world's chief importer of steel, and has become one of the world's top markets for automobile sales. While America's total exports were falling in 2002, our exports to China rose 14.4 percent. How will the people of China—or India, or other developing countries—become middle-class consumers if we do not allow them to participate in the global economy?

So much for the economic worries. National-security concerns about China are not so easily dismissed—especially those regarding technology-related exports. The U.S. government wields extensive power to block exports of sensitive military and "dual use" technology, and the government should use that power when necessary. We should not be selling cutting-edge military technology to China that could then be sold to our enemies or otherwise turned against us. But that is not what really bothers critics of trade with China. What they object to are *imports* from China, believing that enriching China through trade will threaten American security.

That was the view of the U.S.-China Security Review Commission—a panel established by Congress in 2000 to monitor trade with China—which warned in a 2002 report, "If China becomes rich but not free, the United States may face a wealthy, powerful nation that could be hostile toward our democratic values, to us, and in direct competition with us for influence in Asia and beyond." This critique is flawed. First, trade with the United States has not been the most important factor in China's development. Far more important has been China's own internal liberalization and unilateral opening up of its economy to foreign competition. If the U.S. market had been closed to Chinese goods, China would still have grown rapidly in the past 25 years, although not as rapidly as it actually did.

Second, even if we could slam the brakes on China's economic growth, would we want to? A dramatic slowdown would cause hardship for hundreds of millions of Chinese families and condemn millions of children to lives of perpetual poverty without the hope of further education and upward mobility. A poor, stagnant, and frustrated China would be more unstable and hostile to American interests than an energetic and prosperous one. A policy of disengagement from China would probably create the very enemy its proponents claim to be protecting us from.

China's burgeoning commercial ties have already moderated its international behavior. The incident surrounding the downing of a surveillance plane over China early in President Bush's term was resolved quickly in some measure due to China's growing commerce with the United States. And, China is finally playing a constructive role in policing Asia's true problem child, North Korea, in part because South Korea is now among its top five trading partners. Its equally huge trade and investment ties to Taiwan give the Chinese government a powerful reason to avoid military conflict over the island.

Conservative critics of trade with China mingle their economic and security objections to China trade with concerns about human rights. It is true that the Chinese government systematically abuses the rights of its citizens to speak freely, organize, worship, and raise children. But disrupting our mutually beneficial trade relationship in the name of protecting those rights would be futile and counterproductive. After two decades of reform and rapid growth, China's expanding middle class is experiencing for the first time the independence that comes with owning a home, traveling abroad, and working with others in an economic enterprise free of government control. The numbers of telephone lines, mobile phones, and Internet users have risen exponentially in the past decade. Tens of thousands of Chinese students study abroad every year. Rising incomes have allowed Chinese families to buy their way out of the one-child policy. China's economic reforms have opened the door for greater religious activity as well. More than 100 Western missionary organizations are active in China, distributing millions of Chinese-language Bibles.

Trade sanctions have failed to improve human rights in such backwaters as Cuba, Sudan, and Burma. Meanwhile, trade, economic reforms, and growth have tilled the soil for democracy in South Korea, Taiwan, Chile, and Mexico. If experience is any guide, we can encourage political and civil freedoms more effectively in China through trade and development than through sanctions. The best policy to promote human rights in China would combine shining the spotlight of official criticism on China's abuses with encouraging an independent civil society through commercial engagement.

A recent study by the Chinese Communist party's Central Organization Department noted with concern that "as the economic standing of the affluent stratum has increased, so too has its desire for greater political standing." The study concluded that such a development would have a "profound impact on social and political life" in China. By maintaining normal trade relations with the world's most populous nation, we bolster our economy, guard our security, and encourage the "affluent stratum" that is making China's rulers increasingly nervous. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ AT WAR

John Howard, Hombre

A leader in the war on terror, whose neighborhood is particularly rough

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

AUSTRALIANS are rather famous for their dislike of pretensions. And in this respect their prime minister, John Howard, represents them truly. A smallish man, whom you wouldn't necessarily look twice at, he is always busy getting on with things in his own forthright way, in the process winning three consecutive general elections. The economy is in reasonable shape, and he's made himself popular by controlling illegal immigration. On September 11 he happened to be in Washington, in a position to appreciate at first hand that choices have to be made which will help to determine civilization for some time to come.

Under his direction, Australian troops have been successful peacekeepers in the Pacific region, in East Timor and the Solomon Islands. Further afield, their special forces joined the Iraq coalition and in a professional performance hunted down Saddam Hussein's Scud-missile launchers with no losses to themselves. Along with the United States and Britain, Australia has been accepting its share of responsibility for international order.

Australian politics are rough, without pretension even to parliamentary language. While Howard and his foreign minister Alexander Downer and other members of the government proclaim that they are completely unapologetic about their alliance with the United States, politicians in the opposition Labour party and supportive leftists in the media chuck about insults like "slavish" and "arse-licking." Simon Crean, leader of the Labour party, told troops about to sail for Iraq that they should not have been dispatched on such a mission. The actress Judy Davis blackened Australia as a "scavenger on the world stage."

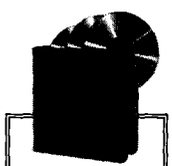
On the grounds that weapons of mass destruction have not yet been found, a former middle-rank intelligence officer named Andrew Wilkie is accusing the Howard government of deceiving the public in order to wage war. Vulgar or fanciful abuse strengthens Howard's hand and is likely to ensure yet more general-election victories in the future. For whether it likes it or not, Australia is inescapably part of the wider war on terror.

To prosper, a terrorist organization requires a territory. To the north of Australia is what specialists in strategy like to call an "arc of instability," ranging from failed states such as Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and the Solomon Islands to the Philippines, with its Islamist Abu Sayyaf movement, and most especially to Indo-

The Bose® Wave® radio/CD. When we designed the Wave® radio/CD, we spent over a year making it one of the smallest, most compact systems available. One that fits almost anywhere. But despite all that, all anyone seems to talk about is how lifelike its sound is.

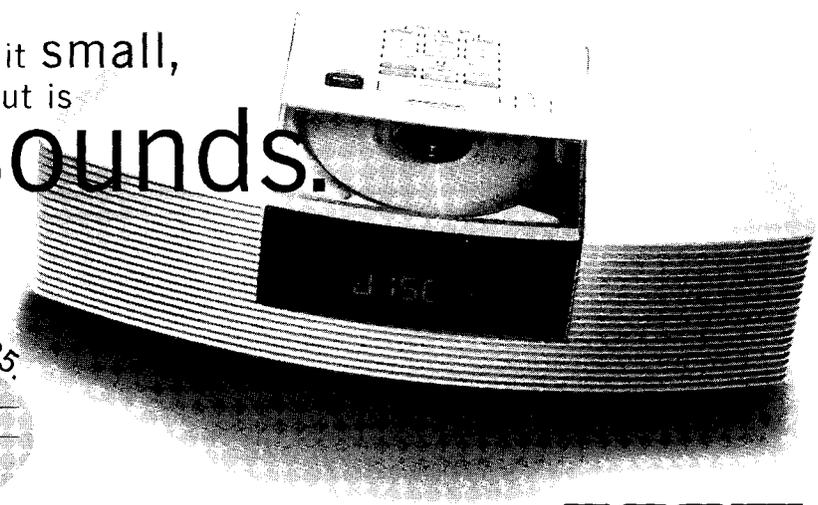
What they're really talking about is our patented acoustic waveguide speaker technology. Its unique design means no other system can produce such room-filling sound from such a small enclosure. The result is music that's truly distinctive in its clarity and full, natural tones. So striking, the *Oregonian* called the Wave® radio/CD "one of those little unexplained miracles of acoustic physics."

Experience the lifelike sound of the Bose Wave® radio/CD yourself or choose the Bose Wave® radio without CD player. Both are available directly from Bose, the most respected name in sound. And with our 30-day money-back guarantee, your purchase is entirely risk free. Take advantage of our payment plan and make **12 interest-free monthly payments.*** Order now and **shipping is free**. Plus, you'll get a free Bose CD carrying case. This versatile carrier protects up to 24 of your favorite CDs or DVDs in static-free sleeves.



Order by September 30, 2003 and receive a FREE CD Case.

To think, all that time making it small, and all anyone talks about is how it sounds.



Call 1-800-836-6754, ext. TB785.

Please specify color when ordering:
Wave® radio/CD: ☐ Platinum White ☐ Graphite Gray
Wave® radio: ☐ Platinum White ☐ Graphite Gray

Name
Address State Zip
☐ Day ☐ Evening Phone Number E-mail Address (Optional)
Mail to: Bose Corporation, Dept. DMG-TB785, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168.

For information on all our products: www.bose.com/tb785

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

©2003 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Wave® radio design is also a trademark of Bose Corporation. *Installment payment plan available on credit card orders only and subject to change without notice. Payment plan is subject to credit approval, and other conditions may apply. Your credit card will be debited each month with no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. First payment to include applicable sales tax. Payment plan, free

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nesia, an archipelago of islands with a population of 190 million Muslims, as well as perhaps 30 million people of Indian and Chinese origins, who are Hindu, Buddhist, or Christian—the mix of geography and ethnicity and religious faith has every potential for leading to another failed state. For half a century, a deeply corrupt dictatorship kept the country together by means of the army and police apparatus. Since the fall of the last dictator, Suharto, politicians including the current president, Megawati Sukarnoputri, have been taking tentative steps toward democracy.

Generally speaking, Indonesian Islam is tolerant, with all sorts of syncretistic borrowings, unlike purist Arab Islam. Greg Barton, a respected Australian authority on the subject, suggests that Indonesian society may still be in the process of Islamization. That is also what the Saudis think. Over the last two decades, Saudi money has been pouring into Indonesia quite as lavishly as into Pakistan or the Taliban, and for the same purpose of indoctrinating youth into the hard-line Wahhabi Islam practiced in Saudi Arabia. The local religious schools, known as *pesantren*, tend to produce pupils whose education is deliberately limited to learning the Koran by heart in Arabic, which is not their language. A Saudi creation parallel to al-Qaeda, Jemaah Islamiah is a conspiratorial group of Muslim extremists who aim to conscript these youths into a mass movement. Probably there are no more than 500 to 1,000 activists, though thousands more sympathize emotionally. Well aware that in a successful democracy they would be merely an insignificant and unpopular minority, Jemaah Islamiah extremists believe that they must make a bid for power and supremacy, and even a territory, while they still can. The grandiose aim is nothing less than an Islamic caliphate right across Southeast Asia. This would break the country apart into inter-communal and inter-faith murdering, and so destabilize the region far and wide.

In the 1990s Jemaah Islamiah, in conjunction with al-Qaeda, began its terror campaign against targets deemed suitable, mostly Christian churches and buildings or other assets held to be representative of America. The explosion on October 12, 2002, of the bomb at Kuta Beach in Bali—killing 202 people, almost half of them Australian—was an open declaration of war, al-Qaeda style. Immediately the Indonesian government arrested and, in April, put on trial Abu Bakar Bashir, aged 64 and the leader of Jemaah Islamiah, comparable to Osama bin Laden in his fanaticism as well as in his skillful self-promotion. His defense has been that Americans and Zionists between them planned and carried out the terrorist attacks of which Jemaah Islamiah is accused, doing so with the intention of humiliating Muslims. About to be sentenced, he seems likely to be spending the rest of his life in prison.

Australian police and intelligence services are cooperating at every level with their Indonesian counterparts. Smart detective work led to the arrest for the Bali bombing of Amrozi bin Nurhasyim, his brother Mukhlas, and Imam Samudra, supposedly leader of their Jemaah Islamiah cell. Admitting their guilt (and thus contradicting Abu Bakar Bashir), they seem eager for the death sentence which they believe will make martyrs of them. Bravado leaves no room for remorse. Amrozi's lighthearted behavior in court has earned him the nickname of "the smiling assassin." In the final days of Amrozi's trial, another suicide bomber at the Marriott Hotel in central Jakarta killed at least 13, and wounded 150 or more. With the exception of a Dutch banker, the dead were all Indonesians, mostly hotel staff and cab drivers. Leaving court that day Amrozi shouted in his gleeful way, "Bomb!" A day or two before, he had sung a brief poem of his in praise of jihad and death, one of whose lines runs, "Kick out the filthy people of the crucifix." At the same time Samudra's parting shot in court was to yell, "Go to hell, Australia." The judges had no hesitation condemning Amrozi to death, and if his appeal is rejected, the sentence will almost certainly be carried out. The prosecutors have already asked for the death penalty for the other two. To Australians objecting to capital punishment in all circumstances, Prime Minister Howard replied flatly that Indonesian law has its due process.

ROMAN GENN

Prime Minister John Howard

Shortly after the conclusion of Amrozi's trial, more smart detection led to the arrest of Riduan Isamuddin, known as Hambali. Linked to al-Qaeda, head of Jemaah Islamiah operations, and therefore directly responsible for the many bombings, Hambali had been on the run in Thailand. Over 80 Jemaah Islamiah members are now in prison awaiting trial. In this arena of the war against terror, a backlash against Islamists seems to be under way. The huge majority of Indonesian Muslims are outraged that extremists claim to be speaking—and killing—in their name.

"Go to hell, Australia" is hardly a sentiment around which even the most enthusiastically breast-beating Australian leftists, actresses, and other media folk can rally convincingly. In Australia, as in the United States and Britain, the public at large appears to appreciate that states which might fail are a danger not only to themselves but to everyone else. The "arc of instability" looms all too real over the horizon. The war against Islamist terror is a campaign across much of the world in behalf of international law and order. Refusal to recognize this elementary point in the case of Saddam Hussein's failed state of Iraq is perhaps the most dispiriting feature of the selfishness and opportunism displayed by France, Germany, and Russia in the attempt to thwart its liberation. They still remain set on a course which leads only to the extension of tyranny or to anarchy.

The policy of these European powers has had the effect of energizing the principal English-speaking countries to act in coordination. Historically their contribution to civilization has been the rule of law, and that is what they are in the process of extending, each according to its capacity. Australia's role in this great enterprise has already enhanced its standing in the world immeasurably. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Moral Birds and Bees

Sex and marriage, properly understood

ROGER SCRUTON

In the England of the Forties, when my parents were courting, terms like "moral," "decent," and "clean living" applied primarily to sexual behavior. Immorality meant sleeping around (and how innocent the word "sleeping" now sounds!); indecency meant unsolicited advances; dirtiness meant whatever put the sexual object before the loving subject. Sexual morality issued from two firm and seemingly immovable premises: that the sexual act is innocent only when sanctified by marriage, and that marriage is a commitment between man and woman, to share their life, fortunes, and family, for better and for worse, until death do them part.

The Sixties put paid to that vision. Since then sexual freedom has proliferated, to the point where many people treat sexual conduct as though it were outside the scope of moral judgment altogether. It really doesn't matter, it is often said, what people do together, provided they freely enjoy it. Sure, pedophilia is wrong. But that is because real consent requires maturity; anything that adults agree to do in private is morally unimpeachable.

Now you can take that line and still believe in marriage, as a uniquely valuable institution with a distinctive place in the scheme of things. You may recognize that children need families, and that families depend on marriage as their binding principle. You may recognize this, and still believe that there is nothing wrong with extra-marital affairs, or intra-marital promiscuity (i.e., orgies, swapping). However, you would also have to believe that marital love can endure without sexual fidelity, that jealousy can be refined away from sexual love and eventually discarded, that marriages can dispense with the kind of existential commitment whereby husband and wife consecrate their lives to each other. You would have to believe that sexual pleasure can be treated as an adjunct to our personal emotions, something that can be tasted in any circumstances and regardless of moral and personal ties. In short you would have to believe that

THE BRUKER FAMILY BY GIUSEPPE TOMINZ ELIO CIOL/CORBIS

Among Mr. Scruton's many books is Sexual Desire: A Moral Philosophy of the Erotic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

human beings are quite different from those creatures described in our art and literature, for whom sexual desire has taken the form of erotic love and in whom erotic love has generally aspired to marriage.

'PROBLEMATIZING'

Many people do believe all that. Persuaded by the "research" reports of the Kinsey Institute, by Margaret Mead's fabricated account of sex in Samoa, by the Reich-Fromm-Norman O. Brown liberationist orthodoxy, and by latter-day antinomians like Michel Foucault, they have come to assume that the attempts to distinguish right from wrong in sexual conduct, to separate legitimate from illegitimate sexual relations, and to surround the sexual act itself with an ethic of "pollution and taboo" (as the early anthropologists described it) are both unnecessary and oppressive. The only correct response to the problem posed by human sexuality, they believe, is to recognize that it is not a problem. It is we who choose, in Foucault's idiom, to "problematize" the sexual act, and we do so in order to fortify hierarchical and oppressive relations that do us no conceivable good. By discarding sexual morality we free ourselves from our "mind forg'd manacles," so as to enjoy the harmless pleasures that the spoilsports have for so long taken pleasure in spoiling.

Sexual desire is not a desire for sensations. It is a desire for a person: and I mean a *person.*

According to the gurus of sexual liberation, the real purpose of sex is not to express love or to generate children (which is another way of expressing love) but to obtain pleasurable sensations. Sexual initiation, according to their view of things, means learning to overcome guilt and shame, to put aside our hesitations, and to enjoy what is described in their literature (which is rapidly becoming the literature of "sex education" in our schools) as "good sex." This can occur with any partner of either sex, and requires no institutional preparation and no social endorsement.

That picture leaves out of consideration the phenomenon that distinguishes us from the other animals, and that also generates the need for a sexual morality, namely desire. Sexual desire is not a desire for sensations. It is a desire for a person: and I mean a *person*, not his or her body, conceived as an object in the physical world, but the person conceived as an incarnate subject, in whom the light of self-consciousness shines and who confronts me eye to eye and I to I. True desire is also a kind of petition: It demands reciprocity, mutuality, and a shared surrender. It is therefore compromising, jealous, and also threatening. No pursuit of a mere sensation could be compromising, jealous, or threatening in this way. Here lies the distinction between the erotic and the pornographic. Erotic literature is about wanting another person; pornography is about wanting sex.

The interpersonal nature of desire explains why unwanted advances are forbidden by the one to whom they might be addressed, and why they may be experienced as a kind of contamination. It explains why rape is so grave a crime: for rape is an invasion of the victim's freedom, and a dragging of the subject into the world of things. If you describe desire in the terms used by the advocates of liberation, the outrage and pollution of rape become impossible to explain. In fact, just about everything in human sexual behavior becomes impossible to explain. Which is why our society is now so confused about sex. We advocate a neutral, scientific view of sex, as a kind of pleasurable sensation in the private parts (which are rapidly ceasing to be private). And by teaching this view of things to children, we encourage them to a premature and depersonalized interest in their own sexuality. In effect we are endorsing in our heads a view of sex that we know in our hearts to be evil. For at some level we all recognize what our behavior denies, that true "sex education" consists not in permitting pleasure but in forbidding it, by fostering shame. And as our society loses its sense of shame, we begin to fear for our children, becoming hysterical at the thought of all those pedophiles out there—who are really the pedophiles *in here*, the very people who are eliciting in their children a depersonalized interest in sex.

ROMEO & JULIET BY FORD MADOX BROWN CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

HOW IT CAME ABOUT

Traditional morality did not exist to prevent sexual pleasure, but to assist in the growth of sexual desire, as an individualizing bond between people. Shame was the barrier behind which erotic energy accumulated, to the point where it could overflow as desire. Marriage was seen as the institutional expression of desire, rather than a way of restricting or denying it. The first purpose of marriage was to consecrate the union of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the partners, to make holy and inviolable what would otherwise be a merely secular contract of cohabitation. Such was the view of marriage that arose in medieval Europe, and that is enshrined in our own literature of love. Nor have other civilizations really disagreed, despite all the varied customs that distinguish them. Islamic, Chinese, Japanese, and Hindu cultures have all concurred in representing sexual desire as an existential bond rather than a fleeting appetite, to be hedged round with shame and hesitation until socially endorsed and ceremonially accepted.

As with all moral sentiments, however, this one concerning the connection between desire and marriage has both a subjective meaning and a social role. Its subjective meaning lies in the exaltation and ennobling of our sexual urges, which are lifted from the realm of appetite and reconstituted as rational commitments. Its social role is to facilitate the sacrifices on which the next generation depends. Marriage is not merely a tie between man and woman; it is the principal forum in which social capital is passed on. By tying sexual fulfillment to the bearing of children, marriage offers a double guarantee of a stable home: the guarantee that comes from erotic love, and the guarantee that comes from the shared love of offspring. It offers children durable affection, a secure territory, moral examples, and moral discipline.

This is all so obvious as barely to deserve mention. As James Q. Wilson has shown, being born to an unmarried mother is by far the most significant factor disposing children to a life of crime—more significant than IQ, race, culture, or education. All of us therefore have a deep and lasting interest in marriage, as the only known way to reproduce the moral order. We have an interest in ensuring that this institution is not trivialized or abused, not reduced to a Disneyland caricature or deprived of its privileged place in the scheme of things—which is, socially speaking, that of a link between generations.

Marriage in a religious society is a religious event: not a contract between mortals but a vow before the gods. Such a marriage raises the bond between husband and wife from the secular to the sacred sphere, so that whoever breaks the bond

THE POPES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Lectures by distinguished historians reviewing the problems and opportunities with which they dealt

Saint Patrick's Cathedral

Fifth Avenue and 50th Street, Manhattan
6:30 P.M.

Pius X — **Monday, October 6, 2003**
Rev. Marvin R. O'Connell, *University of Notre Dame*

Benedict XV and Pius XI — **Monday, November 10, 2003**
Professor Frank J. Coppa, *St. John's University*

Pius XII — **Monday, December 1, 2003**
Professor Peter C. Kent, *University of New Brunswick*

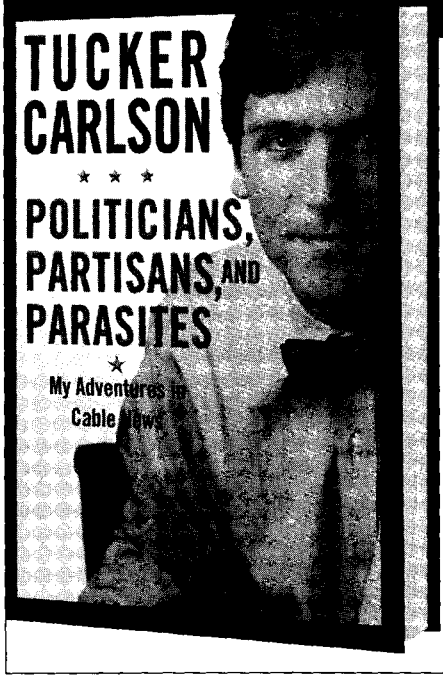
John XXIII – Paul VI — **Monday, February 2, 2004**
Dr. Richard J. Wolff, *Chief Executive Officer, Global Consulting*

John Paul II — **Monday, March 1, 2004**
George Weigel, *Senior Fellow, Ethics and Public Policy Center*

All are welcome.

He learned quickly that TV brings out the "crazy" in people. Naturally, he started taking notes.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★



"He is a witty writer and a skilled storyteller. Read his book, laugh out loud, and learn a lot about TV, Washington, D.C., and life."
—William Kristol, editor, *The Weekly Standard*

"Downright hilarious."
—*Publishers Weekly*

"Entertaining stuff."
—*Kirkus Reviews*

AVAILABLE IN HARDCOVER
Read an Excerpt Online at www.twbookmark.com

WARNER BOOKS
An AOL Time Warner Book Group Company

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

commits an act of sacrilege. Civil marriage (as introduced in modern times by the French revolutionaries) has gradually displaced the religious institution, so that marriage is now conducted by the civil authorities, and the change in status is not ontological, like the change from secular to sacred, but legal. In effect marriage has become a contract and has gradually assumed the provisional and temporary character of all merely secular arrangements. This was not the intention of those who invented civil marriage. In taking over and secularizing the institution of marriage the state was hoping to confer fiscal privileges and legal guarantees that would substitute for religious sanctions, and so help to make our commitments durable. It did this from the belief that marriage is vital to the future of society. The state in effect lent its aid to traditional sexual morality, by privileging faithful union between man and wife. And it did so for the very good reason that the future of society depends on this kind of union.

THE GREAT ALTERATION

Now, however, the marriage contract is being enlarged to accommodate the permissive morality. Marriage is ceasing to be a sacrificial union of lovers, in which future generations have a stake, and becoming a transitory agreement between people living now. It is from this perspective that we should view the controversy over gay marriage.

This is not really a controversy about the rights, freedoms, and life-chances of homosexuals. It is a controversy about the institution of marriage itself. Can marriage retain its privileged place in our moral thinking when so effectively severed from the process of social reproduction? Already the secularization of marriage has led to easy divorce, serial polygamy, and growing insecurity among children. But marriage in its fundamental meaning is a form of lifelong commitment, in which absent generations have a stake. If marriage can be celebrated between homosexual partners, then it will cease entirely to be anything more than a contract of cohabitation, and the legal and fiscal privileges attached to it will seem both unjustified and dangerous, so many openings to litigation. Lovers' quarrels, exalted into marital disputes, will be endowed with an intransigent bitterness, while transient crushes will be foisted on friends and colleagues as institutional facts. In effect, marriage, as the institution through which society offers its endorsement and support to the raising of children, will have ceased to exist.

The demand to make institutions conform to our desires, rather than our desires to institutions, is one of the great American failings. Thanks to their Puritan heritage, Americans regard hypocrisy as a serious vice, and sin as so lamentable a condition that it must be avoided at all costs. If the only way to avoid sin is to redefine your sins as innocent pastimes, that is what Americans will do. Elsewhere in the world people have learned to extol marriage as the only innocent sexual relation, while nevertheless failing to live up to it. The important thing for normal un-Americans is to keep up appearances, to acknowledge one's own sinfulness, and to be prepared, when the crunch comes, to give up your lover for your spouse. La Rochefoucauld famously described hypocrisy as the tribute that vice pays to virtue. In the sexual mores of today's America, however, hypocrisy is regarded as the only genuine sin. Which is why, in America, sexual virtue gets no tributes at all. **NR**

■ **CIVILIZATION II**

The August of Our Discontent

Eternal lessons from a hot and hairy month

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

RELATIVELY simple breakdowns in power transmission, and accordant human lapses, plunged millions on the East Coast into darkness. The lifestyle of postmodern man in sophisticated New York was reduced—in seconds—to that of his 18th- or 19th-century forebears. Stylish executives, with alligator briefcases and cell phones, on their way home to the suburbs in Connecticut, were felled—forced to nap, for the night, on dirty sidewalks astride the homeless. The age-old banes of nature—darkness, heat, distance—cared little for our professionals' hard-earned entitlements, and gave them no class preference or exemption from the elements when the aegis of the modern power grid vanished. Without civilization's veneer of civility and technology, we really can be reduced to mere animals in constant search for food, shelter, and security.

In France, meanwhile, Mother Nature this summer has killed some 10,000 people by primeval heat: three times the toll of September 11. The French chattering classes will claim the culprit for the heat wave is global warming caused by the energy-guzzling Americans. Or maybe they will plead that they are paying penance for their selfless prior rejection of wasteful air conditioners—proof not of their stinginess, but of their ecological sensitivity and resistance to American-style technology.

No matter. The recent scorcher is still a reminder that tens of thousands survive hour-by-hour thanks solely to the lifeblood of electricity, and can die without cooling machines that can artificially lower the temperature by 30 degrees. In contrast, impoverished Yemenis or Congolese, by their very poverty and daily ordeal, are better equipped to deal with nature's heat waves in their airy ramshackle homes than are Parisians in apartments and shops.

French socialism's key boast, that at the end of history the benevolent state can do what selfish individuals cannot, was belied by the mundane forces of the weather. While medical workers, the young, and the middle-aged flocked to the beach to seek relief, thousands of their elderly and immobile relatives left behind were dehydrated alone in their homes—out of sight, out

Mr. Hanson's most recent book is *Mexifornia: A State of Becoming*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of mind, as far as their vacationing progeny were concerned: *L'Etat*, not *moi*, was supposed to handle the crisis. But nature warns us again that even the most sophisticated Europeans cannot always escape such age-old precepts as: Children are born precisely to ensure that parents do not die, like these French, in their dotage, alone and in misery. And, as the no-nonsense wisdom of the Greeks had it: We change the diapers of our toddlers with care so that they will do the same for us when we are enfeebled a half-century later.

CHILDREN OF PRIVILEGE

There is a similar denial of reality where I live, in California. Despite our great ports, tourism, beautiful weather, massive industries—and the nation's highest income and sales taxes—the citizenry finds its collective credit worse than that of the average errant suburbanite who has maxed out his credit cards. All the fancy suits in Sacramento really cannot convince tight-fisted Wall Street bankers to give their money to those who may well not pay it back—an elemental law of commerce as old as the trapezoidal money-changing tables in ancient Piraeus.

Over the past five years, it seems, our state government operated on the assumption that we could create utopia by fiat, simply by writing checks for more and more health care, education, police, and prisons. After all, we are Californians, the inheritors of a grand and sophisticated state, and thus by birthright deserving of special compensation. In our infinite arrogance we presupposed, first, that the money would appear *ex nihilo*, and second, that cash in and of itself could solve our very human problems. That Californians simply have not paid for the services they have charged—and, worse, fooled themselves into thinking they either should not or will not have to—is left unsaid. That the crisis involves core values and social assumptions about human nature, and thus may be deeper than the ability of government per se to fix it, is not even contemplated.

The same paradoxes of civilization are seen in a more sinister context in the Middle East, where a sophisticated and modern society like Israel's is racked by suicide killers right out of the Dark Ages. That such murderers cannot manufacture the SUVs they so habitually drive on their errands of death, the cell phones that facilitate their awful plans, or the videos that capture the last testaments of mass murderers matters little. After all, for such leeches of civilization it only takes a modicum of cunning and little skill, rather than real education or intellectual accomplishment, to strap on imported explosives and blow up women and children. Dismembering a child is easier and quicker than nurturing and educating him; exploding a bus involves less work and training than building it. The prevention of such barbarism—sophisticated policing, electronic security, preservation of human rights and civil liberties while hunting down stealthy killers—is the fruition of centuries of civilization, but can disappear in moments when confronted with elemental nihilism. In contrast, the parasitic arts of Hamas are pre-civilized. Indeed, its killers accept that asymmetry and see it as a great asset in their struggle to destroy the Jewish state.

Some of our civilization's most accomplished men and women surrounded the late Sergio Vieira de Mello—himself degreed, idealistic, selfless—and were incinerated in a second in Baghdad. With great personal courage, they had flown into the inferno, to draw on decades of their formidable educations and good works to help those without commensurate cultural and social advantages. And it was all for naught: They were wiped out in a second by a gang of two-bit fascist thugs, who needed only access to some rusty Soviet bombs and an old truck.

What do all these most recent calamities have in common? They are warnings of the fragility of our increasingly complex civilization, in this its greatest, but also most vulnerable, age. The sudden loss of power, an unexpected wave of heat, financial meltdown, and suicide-murdering all remind us that there is no simple law ensuring that we are entitled to our present affluence and security. Only hourly vigilance preserves us against age-old natural enemies and the recrudescence of human barbarism.

These most recent calamities are warnings of the fragility of our increasingly complex civilization.

There are plenty of other lessons here. One is the danger of hubris, which, as if by divine law, invites nemesis. Many of our elites were hyper-critical, from the sidelines, over the lack of progress in restoring power in Baghdad. From their easy slurs it was clear how ignorant they were of the physical ordeal involved in stringing power lines and fixing generation plants after years of abuse; repair workers have even been shot at. The New York blackout should remind them that it is difficult enough amid peace and decades of prosperity to ensure to 50 million people light and cool air when they flip their switches. Even the most sophisticated pundits at the *New York Times* have not a clue how to jump-start a generator or climb up a high-voltage tower to repair cable. They should keep those challenges in mind when they expect instantaneous perfection abroad; it is hard enough ensuring it at home, where it is 90°, not 130°.

From the French debacle, we learn that abstract theorizing on the cheap not only is not the same as concrete action, but, in fact, often is used as intellectual and psychological cover for the embarrassing, retrograde appetites that center around selfishness and pleasure. After listening to recent French moral strictures in the U.N. over Iraq, few would ever have guessed that an entire country would, in its miserliness, forgo air conditioning for its elderly and abdicate responsibility for them in order to cool off in the beach breeze. That some Frenchmen still lingered on the beach after learning that their dead grannies in ad hoc air-conditioned morgues had at last found the cool relief that they had lacked in life was the coup de grâce.

We must always keep in mind that we are human, not divine, and should not be lured by our temporary success in overcoming ignorance, disease, and the elements into thinking the task is largely finished as we near the end of history. The last five years

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in California remind us of just that dangerous complacency. We borrowed money, sold bonds, passed absurd new laws, and ignored problems, assured that a future upswing in the economy or even vaguer natural forces would automatically correct what we could not. A recent newspaper headline here blared: "Officers to take cut." That is what we say when our state highway patrol accepts a 2.7 percent salary increase rather than a promised 7.7 percent pay hike at a time of a $38 billion annual deficit. Come to California to appreciate the words of the Roman historian Livy: "We can neither endure our vices nor face the remedies needed to cure them."

NEMESIS

How, for example, were millions of illegal aliens to assimilate into California's culture, if not by the hard challenges of legality, integration, and intermarriage? Instead, our Right saw cheap workers, our Left plentiful new constituents, as both ignored a growing apartheid society where the unskilled, the illiterate, the non-English-speaking, and the illegal were somehow in the hundreds of thousands magically to transmogrify themselves into California suburbanites. Most Californians without special agendas simply thought that their new maids, nannies, and gardeners, fleeing the misery of Oaxaca, would be delighted to remain second-class "citizens" at $10 cash an hour—only to be shocked and hurt that their workers really did age, get hurt or sick, and have children, and so might need five times the amount of entitlements that they had contributed in taxes to find a semblance of the life of their more affluent employers. Better to shrug, pass surreal laws like providing driver's licenses to those here illegally, allow separate graduation ceremonies in our colleges, and hope that the demagogues on both sides will not whip up the state in the midst of an election.

The conundrum in Jerusalem and Baghdad should dispel the romance of Western elites that all cultures are more or less equal, or that our own past sins explain horrific homicide bombing and the dressing up of toddlers in "suicide" vests. Asymmetrical, fourth-dimensional, unconventional—call it what you want; warfare is predicated on inequality. The divide is not just that the non-West cannot fabricate weapons like our own or even maintain them when they are purchased or given. Nor is the disequilibrium solely due to the Western military tradition itself—singular ideas of group discipline and personal freedom—that ensures motivated soldiers who can wield such sophisticated weapons. Instead, the inferiority on the battlefield goes hand in glove with a larger anger over the absence in the Middle East of affluence, safety, liberality, freedom, and modernization. I think the Palestinian fury at the ever-creeping Israeli fence is not merely that it slices a few kilometers here and there off from the old boundaries. After all, thousands of Jewish settlers will find themselves on the wrong side of the barrier and probably be forced to give up their land and flee westward. The rampart is a final testament that the Israelis want nothing to do with those on the West Bank, and that the Palestinians will be cut off from their supposed enemies forever, no longer able either to benefit from them—or kill them.

Captives to envy and hatred, a sizable minority in the Middle East realizes that its culture can neither defeat the West militarily nor emulate its success. So the minority lashes out; but is the illiterate psychopath in Baghdad really the equal of the kind and humane Mr. Vieira simply because he can blow him up in the blink of an eye? Does the ability to tear apart in a moment what was created over a decade earn concessions, guilt, or blackmail payments from wealthier and ever more scared Westerners, who so much wish to believe that their education and wealth should earn them a pass from the rage of the nemesis? These are questions our own elites seldom wish to ponder.

Consider the even more controversial radical disconnect in the recent horrific scenes broadcast from Jerusalem and the West Bank. In Jerusalem, men and women of all ages rushed, crying, amid the detritus to find a spark of precious life among the parts of disemboweled infants and children; in the West Bank's rubble, only young males rushed about—pulling out the corpses of terror masters, screaming in sorrow but also defiantly howling about further blood to come. Death, to be sure, was in both places; but these differences are significant.

An increasing number of Americans have quietly decided to cast their lot with civilization.

An increasing number of Americans grasp this cultural abyss and have quietly decided to cast their lot with civilization. They may disagree over the road map or Iraqi reconstruction, but they are beginning at last to see that there is a real moral difference between those who are building schools in Baghdad and those who are blowing them up, between the civilians who are trying to tear apart women and children in buses and the soldiers who seek to kill such killers. The *Guardian* may pontificate about the harshness of Israeli detention and the absence of habeas corpus for the detained of Hamas, but even its biased reporters really do know which side is packing explosives with rat poison and nails to rip apart infants and which is not.

The recent depressing news from this lazy August should remind all Americans that our civilization is only as viable as we in the here and now work to maintain it. Before we assume that our enemies are just like us and are troubled and confused rather than intent and murderous, we must not feel too wealthy or too educated to use force to defeat them, especially when appeasement in the past has not brought peace, but only greater aggression. Western civilization is admittedly increasingly complex and impersonal. I suppose at times it uses our resources inefficiently. And it can be arrogant and insensitive to the Other. But unless we realize that it is still far better than the alternative, and requires our daily appreciation and watchfulness, there is no reason that it cannot vanish in an instant. That is the real lesson of this most awful August 2003, when we saw glimpses of its demise. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the long view

ROB LONG

Transcript, *Larry King Live* November 12, 2003

LARRY KING: "Were you at all surprised? I mean, did you go to bed thinking, I'm the next governor, and . . ."

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER: "No, no, Larry. It was nothing like that."

LARRY KING: "Did it hurt? Losing, I mean?"

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER: "I'll be totally honest with you, Larry. No."

LARRY KING: "Not even a little bit?"

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER: "Well, okay, a little bit. I don't like to lose, as you know. I'm a competitor and I like to win the competitions. But by the end of the process, when I realized what being governor of the State of California would entail . . ."

LARRY KING: "The scrutiny, the loss of privacy . . ."

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER: "I meant missing out on my next film, in which I play a by-the-book robot cop partnered with a crazy do-anything cop tracking down a serial-killer drug smuggler. It's called *Tanglefoot and Hardpack*, and I really think it takes my acting to a new level. And I have gross points from dollar one, so . . ."

LARRY KING: "So no more politics for you, Arnold?"

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER: "Well, as you know, Larry, I never say never. But let's just say from a financial perspective, it's hard to make the numbers work. And Sacramento is so hot, really."

LARRY KING: "From Redding, California, you're on with Arnold Schwarzenegger. Hello!"

CALLER: "Hi. Hi, Arnold!"

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER: "Hello there."

CALLER: "Um . . . first I'd like to say I think your next movie sounds great."

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER: "Thank you."

CALLER: "Um . . . and I wanted to ask you how you think the new governor is doing?"

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER: "It's a little too early to say. I wish him well. But I would have thought Californians would want a taller governor."

LARRY KING: "Did you know Gary Coleman, before the race? Did you two mingle at Hollywood parties?"

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER: "Please."

LARRY KING: "And what's next? You wrap this film and then?"

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER: "On to the next. I like to keep busy, Larry, as you know. In my next picture, I play a half-robot half-cop assigned to a serial killer in a circus. It's called *Banjo and the Magic Man*. And the best part is, I'm getting a producer credit and a piece of the subsidiary rights."

LARRY KING: "Tomorrow night, Tony Danza and Kofi Annan!"

Transcript, *The Today Show* December 8, 2003

KATIE COURIC: "Do you just have to pinch yourself?"

GARY COLEMAN: "Every day, Katie. I mean, it really is incredible."

KATIE COURIC: "Did you have any idea . . . any inkling of what they're calling the 'late Coleman surge'?"

GARY COLEMAN: "No idea at all, Katie. None. I didn't have much of a campaign budget, remember. So we had zero, really, for any kind of polling. The Field Poll showed us hovering in the low fives, high fours . . ."

KATIE COURIC: "Ahead of Angelyne and the Green party, right?"

GARY COLEMAN: "Yeah. Right. Comfortably ahead of the Green party, and within the margin of error with Angelyne, but then Zogby came out the night before the election and showed us in the low teens, and I remember getting those numbers and just thinking, you know, 'What choo talkin' 'bout, Zogby?' and just . . ."

KATIE COURIC: "But by the next day . . ."

GARY COLEMAN: "Yeah, the next day I'm on one of those little planes headed to Sacramento and . . ."

KATIE COURIC: "Were you nervous?"

GARY COLEMAN: "Freaked."

KATIE COURIC: "But other things were going on in your life at the time, right?"

GARY COLEMAN: "Right."

KATIE COURIC: "You have a new lady in your life, am I right?"

GARY COLEMAN: "Yeah. Yeah. You know, it's strange, because ever since my show went off the air, it's been, I don't know, like, impossible to meet girls. And now, I've got to say, it's really great to have such a terrific lady to lean on. And she's not just my girlfriend—my first real girlfriend, actually. I mean, she's more than a lover. She's an adviser. A partner. A counselor. She's my everything."

KATIE COURIC: "And she's here with you today."

GARY COLEMAN: "Yes, she is."

KATIE COURIC: "Hi, Arianna."

ARIANNA HUFFINGTON: "Hello, Katie. It's wonderful to be here."

KATIE COURIC: "So . . . I've got to say, this is an unlikely romance."

ARIANNA HUFFINGTON: "You know, Katie, the truth is, it isn't, really. It's just that we've been conditioned to expect that people of the same height tend to end up together."

KATIE COURIC: "And when did you know that this was the guy for you?"

ARIANNA HUFFINGTON: "A few minutes after Fox News/Opinion Dynamics released their exit-poll results. I just thought to myself, 'Who's that hunk in the boy's blazer?'"

KATIE COURIC: "Wow. I imagine there have been a lot of compromises?"

GARY COLEMAN: "Yeah. Of course. Like in any relationship. I mean, when we go to parties thrown by Arianna's friends, I have to wear a sign that says 'I am not the parking valet.'"

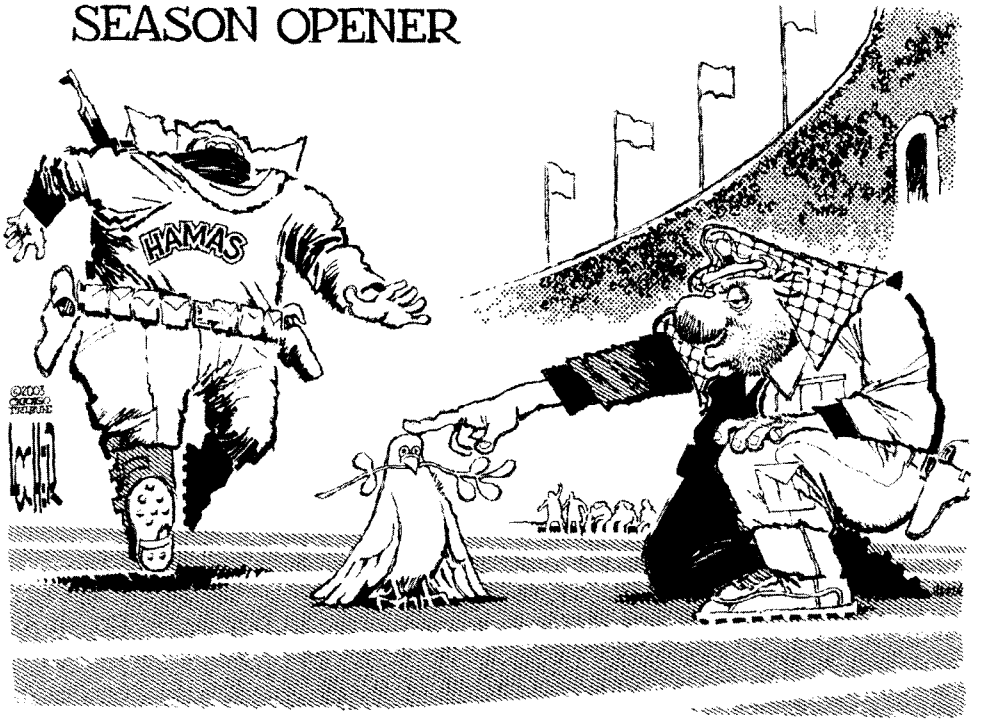
ARIANNA HUFFINGTON: "And I was surprised to learn that the residuals from *Diff'rent Strokes* weren't all that lucrative. But you know, Katie, love really does conquer all. He's a wonderful man. A wonderful, dear, sexy little man."

KATIE COURIC: "Sounds like the things that every couple goes through. We wish you the best."

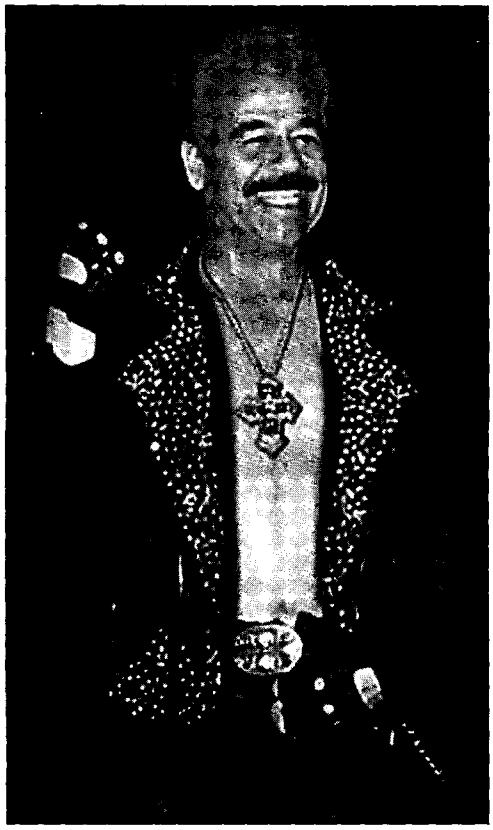
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP!!!!

RAMIREZ
AS CAPTAIN OF THIS SHIP, I ACCEPT TOTAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR OUR MISTAKES, EVEN THOUGH IT WAS THE FAULT OF A RIGHT-WING CONSPIRACY, ENERGY COMPANIES, CRUZ BUSTAMANTE, AUSTRIAN BODYBUILDERS, GEORGE W. BUSH, 9/11, CHILD ACTORS, THE ECONOMY STUPID, THE SKELETAL SAILORS FROM THE PIRATES OF THE CARIBBEAN AND...
S.S. CALIFORNIA



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



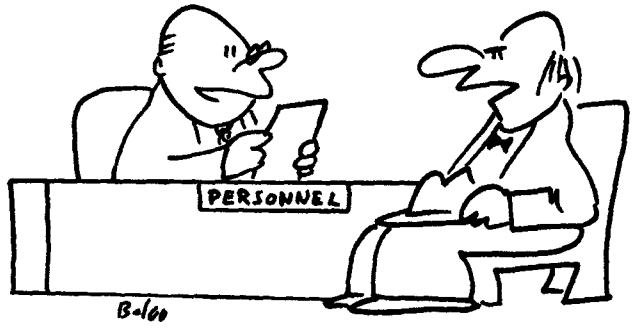
Is this what Saddam now looks like? At left is one of the many posters the U.S. military has spread around Tikrit, to the delight of most citizens, and the disgust of a few.

A member of the Burqa Band, a group now popular in Germany. Its number-one song? "Burqa Blues."

INTERMISSION

Shall we slip out for a Coke,
Popcorn, or perhaps a smoke?
Democrats are on hold till
Davis, goosed along by Bill,
Conks out in October; then
We can look aghast again
As the nine return to what
Lacks theme, characters, and plot.

—W. H. VON DREELE

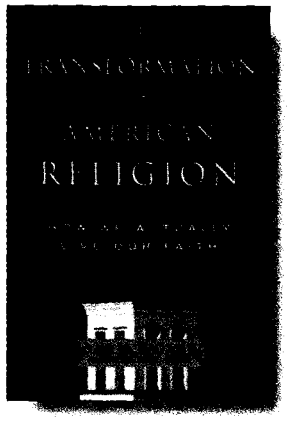


—"Why did you leave your previous position?"

—"That stupid welfare-reform bill!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That Old-Time Religion



The Transformation of American Religion: How We Actually Live Our Faith, by Alan Wolfe (Free Press, 309 pp., $26)

MICHAEL POTEMRA

"We are all evangelicals now": This is the suggestion at the heart of this new book by Alan Wolfe, one of America's most valuable and insightful sociologists. The considerable strength of the book derives from the fact that Wolfe's observations are largely correct, and point to important positive developments in American religion; its weakness lies in the fact that Wolfe seems distinctly unhappy with the data and impressions he has noted down. If ever a book made a strong case for the fact-value distinction, this is surely it.

Wolfe admits up front: "I am not, and never have been, a person of faith." He serves, however, as director of the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life at the Jesuit-run Boston College, and has a certain amount of sympathy with religious believers—enough sympathy to be able to reassure hard-core secularists about the non-threatening nature of contemporary American religion. American believers, he writes, "are not imperialistic in their attitudes toward everyone else. The God in whom they believe is capacious and understanding of many different ways of life . . . If anything, the problem American believers have is lack of confidence rather than excessive arrogance. They have found their own comfortable niches in American society" and thus avoid risking the status quo.

This description of U.S. religion should be made mandatory reading for all those who fret about the danger of the "Christian Right" lurking within our borders. Wolfe says, correctly, that there is "no reason to fear that the faithful are a threat to liberal democratic values. . . . Despite what both their friends and their critics often argue, believers are full citizens . . . and it is time to make peace between them and the rest of America." Much of the book is devoted to evidence showing how different American religion is from the depictions of it in secularist caricature.

It's great that a scholar of Wolfe's stature is willing to stand up for the full citizenship of religious believers, and for the principle that a vigorous exercise of religious faith poses no threat to the constitutional separation of church and state. But this brings us to the book's central weakness, a weakness interwoven very closely with its strength: Wolfe says the reason people of faith should not be feared by the body politic is that religion has been watered down, robbed of both supernatural mystery and intellectual vigor. He says, in short, that religion—in its well-documented recent turn toward enthusiastic, emotional megachurch evangelicalism—has paid too high a price for its newfound respectability. "What has been called a 'generic conservative Christianity' . . . cuts across all existing denominational, doctrinal, and even cultural boundaries in search of an authentically rooted Biblical faith." Many evangelicals "say that faith is so important to them that 'religion'—which they associate with discord and disagreement and, therefore, if often in an unexpressed way, with doctrine—cannot be allowed to interfere with its exercise. It has been argued that America has 'an argument culture,' but one finds little taste for argument among [these believers]."

The evangelicals in their megachurches, Wolfe says, are more interested in emotion and experience than in theological disputation:

> In such an environment, [the liberal] mainline churches are left as distinctly marginalized holdouts for a way of life that insists on the importance of ideas written down in books meant to be read and digested. . . . Like fundamentalists, with whom they have little else in common, liberal churches now find themselves among the last bastions of ideas in an American religious landscape increasingly characterized by empathic understanding on the one hand and emotional enthusiasm on the other.

An evangelical pastor in Cincinnati told Wolfe that "the message of his sermons is 'love, love, love, love, love, truth.'" Wolfe comments: "I think he may have his priorities wrong; love is something you get from your family, not your church." This statement of Wolfe's is revealing, and troubling, on a number of levels. First, it presents a false choice: That love is present in the family does not mean that it must be absent from church. Second, it displays a basic misunderstanding: In a sermon about love, one is not necessarily *given* love—but one is certainly *instructed* about it. Third, and most important, it makes doctrinal didacticism the focus of worship.

In passages like these, Wolfe displays a certain failure of sympathy with his subjects, and a tin ear for the language of their religious practice. Who, after all, insists that religion has principally to do with intellectual controversies—Calvinist vs. Arminian, premillennial vs. postmillennial, and suchlike? Thomas à Kempis, the great Catholic devotional writer of the 15th century, wrote that "it is better to show compunction, that is, sorrow for the sufferings and weaknesses of others, than to be able to define the word compunction." This should not be dismissed as anti-intellectualism, but rather as putting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMERICA'S BEST 2004 COLLEGE GUIDE

CHOOSING THE RIGHT COLLEGE

"By far the best college guide in America. It covers subjects not even mentioned in other college guides, but which are urgently important for parents and students to know about. This is especially so at a time when choosing the wrong college can lead not merely to disappointment but to disaster."

—Thomas Sowell

The 2004 edition of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute's ***Choosing the Right College: The Whole Truth About America's Top Schools*** is *the* essential reference resource for prospective students and their parents. Unlike other college guides, which too often read like paraphrases of university public-relations brochures, ***Choosing the Right College*** covers the things that matter *most*: core curricula, campus crime, student living arrangements, the quality of teaching and student advising, freshman orientation, good professors to seek out, and courses and departments to avoid.

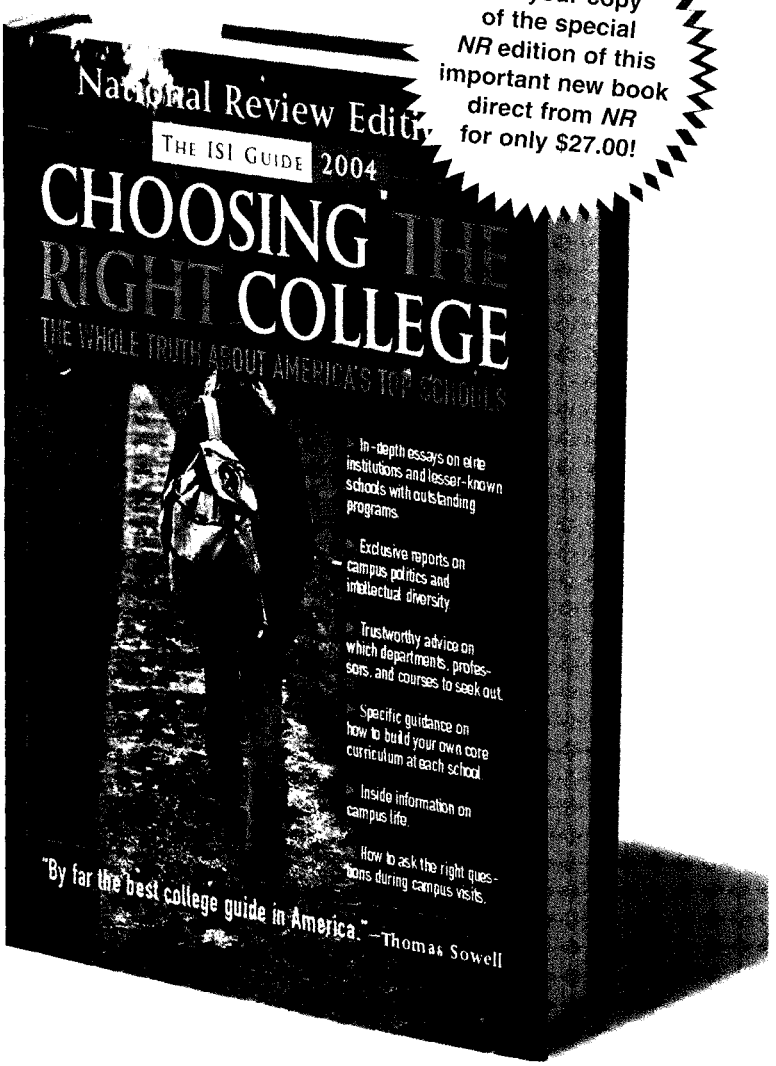
This special *National Review* edition has been thoroughly revised, rewritten, and expanded to include detailed profiles of over 120 of the nation's top private and public colleges and universities. ***Choosing the Right College*** provides candid assessments of the state of each school's academic curriculum, political atmosphere, and campus life. Even better, this 1,000-page mega-book informs students on what courses they can take at each school in order to provide themselves with a true core curriculum! This build-your-own-core feature helps make the 2004 edition of ***Choosing the Right College*** more indispensable than ever for the student and parent seeking a genuine liberal arts education.

If your child or relative is considering college, he must have ***Choosing the Right College***. It will provide:

* In-depth introductions to elite institutions and schools with outstanding professors and programs.
* Exclusive reports on the politics and intellectual diversity of each campus.
* Trustworthy advice on which departments, professors, and courses to seek out—and which to *avoid*.
* Specific guidance on how to build your own core curriculum at schools that don't offer one.
* Descriptions of the state of teaching and student advising at each school.
* Inside information on campus life issues such as dorms, clubs, and campus safety.

College-search season is here—*now* is the time to discover the whole truth about America's top schools. Order your quality softcover edition of ***Choosing the Right College*** direct from *NR*—the cost is only $27.00. Count on it being the *best* $27 you'll ever spend!

Get your copy of the special *NR* edition of this important new book direct from *NR* for only $27.00!


National Review Edition
THE ISI GUIDE 2004
CHOOSING THE RIGHT COLLEGE
THE WHOLE TRUTH ABOUT AMERICA'S TOP SCHOOLS
In-depth essays on elite institutions and lesser-known schools with outstanding programs.
Exclusive reports on campus politics and intellectual diversity.
Trustworthy advice on which departments, professors, and courses to seek out.
Specific guidance on how to build your own core curriculum at each school.
Inside information on campus life.
How to ask the right questions during campus visits.
"By far the best college guide in America." —Thomas Sowell

National Review ◆ 215 Lexington Avenue ◆ New York, NY ◆ 10016

Send me _____ copies of the special *NR* quality-softcover edition of ***Choosing the Right College***. My cost is $27.00 for each book plus a flat charge of $2.95 for shipping and handling. I enclose total payment of $_____. Send to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

(NY State residents must add sales tax.)

PAYMENT METHOD:

☐ Check enclosed (payable to *National Review*)

☐ Bill my ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the intellect in its proper place. The human mind has an important role in the worship of God, and the work of theologians has been invaluable in man's attempt to grapple with the divine realities. But the language about God is not entirely, nor principally, the language of the seminar room. The man who admits, haltingly and ungrammatically, that he has spoken unkindly to his wife, and vows sincerely not to do it again, will not get an A+ for his prose; but he is surely close to a key religious truth—that God wants us to love our neighbor, and act accordingly.

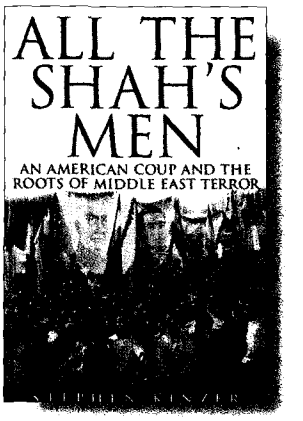
Wolfe confesses that he brings a "missionary zeal" to his work as a college professor. Maybe that's why he's so upset by what he calls "salvation inflation," a religious counterpart to grade inflation: "As less becomes expected in order to achieve salvation, the blessings of salvation are offered with fewer strings attached." But he should be reassured by a central insight of Christianity—not just the "tacky" (his word) forms of it that can be seen today, but the hard-core version of the 16th-century Reformers: We all get better grades than we deserve, for the simple reason that grace is unmerited. Early in the book, Wolfe criticizes the recent feel-good religious bestseller *The Prayer of Jabez*, because, he says, "in [this] form of Christianity, you get far more than you give." To which Martin Luther—not to mention Paul—would have responded: *Precisely.*

Furthermore, for all of Wolfe's strictures about evangelicalism entering a "Faustian pact" with the culture, the new mainstream of American Christianity is still recognizably the faith of the New Testament—perhaps, indeed, more so than in the past. One minister Wolfe talked to, Bryant Quinn of Hebron Baptist in Dacula, Ga., explains that he organized Saturday-night services for his busy congregation: "In doing this, we are showing that Hebron is willing to break with tradition . . . We have to understand that the message of Christ is the same, but the methods of delivering that message are not sacred."

This distinction between the message and its form is absolutely crucial. Wolfe declares, for example, that he is "not pleased with [the] retreat from sin, for the ease with which American religious believers adopt nonjudgmental language and a psychological understanding of wrongdoing is detrimental to anyone, religious or not, who believes that individuals should judge their actions against the highest possible ideals of human conduct." But in fact, the content of the message about sin has not changed. I was recently told, in a sermon at an evangelical megachurch—in midtown Manhattan, no less!—about the need to resist "the homosexual agenda." In a Baptist church—also in midtown—I heard a preacher speak about courtship, in terms that suggested his congregation were already well aware of the prohibition against premarital sex. What was missing, though, was fire and brimstone, and any self-righteous reveling in the perdition of sinners. Far from a dilution of the moral message of religion, this represents a strengthening of the message—by eliminating from it any motives other than love of those who, like oneself, are sinners.

So why, exactly, is Wolfe so troubled? Is it merely a matter of his academic background, or his aesthetic distaste for tackiness? I couldn't begin to guess. But over the long run, we have every reason to hope that American religion will prove that his observations were correct—and that his qualms about them were not. I can't help recalling, in this context, a conversation I had recently with a friend of mine, a dyed-in-the-wool agnostic. We were talking about some interfaith conference or other, and he surprised me by volubly denouncing the whole idea of ecumenism. I asked him: Why on earth, if you don't believe in God, should you care one way or another if religions happen to find common ground? "Religions make claims about truth," he replied, "and if they compromise on truth, it shows they don't really believe it." Leave aside the question of whether this is an accurate description of ecumenism; it still left the problem of why the agnostic shouldn't *welcome* such an admission from religious believers. I started to have some dark suspicions, and in our next conversation some weeks later, I asked him: "Is it possible that you reject ecumenism because it makes religions appear less angry, more reasonable—and thus harder to reject?" He grew pensive, and finally smiled: "You may be on to something." **NR**

A Very Elegant Coup



All The Shah's Men: An American Coup and the Roots of Middle East Terror, by Stephen Kinzer (Wiley, 272 pp., $24.95)

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

In the summer of 1953, the CIA and Britain's MI6 arranged a coup in Tehran. The Iranian prime minister, Mohammad Mossadegh, appeared to be opening his country to the Soviets, and the objective was to overthrow him. The coup succeeded brilliantly. Mossadegh spent the rest of his life on his country estate; Iran remained a strong Cold War ally of the West. And a myth central to the Left took lasting shape: The CIA is thuggish, arrogant, immoral, and—finally—stupid, because interventions of that sort prove counterproductive. No matter how many countries the Soviet Union might subvert, in this view, the United States should never interfere in other peoples' internal affairs. This myth is being revived forcefully, now that the U.S. has gone far beyond staging a mere coup in order to keep the peace in many trouble spots, including Iraq.

Stephen Kinzer is a *New York Times*

Mr. Pryce-Jones, an NR senior editor, is author of The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM NATIONAL REVIEW BOOKS

"An Extraordinary Compendium"

Order your first-printing copy of this important new book direct from *NR* for only $24.95. FREE SHIPPING/HANDLING!

"Insufficient attention has been paid to the great volume of speeches and addresses by President Bush in the heavily altered theater, national and worldwide, since the great assault on the Twin Towers. Here they are, and how welcome and valuable they are."

—*William F. Buckley Jr.*

"This extraordinary compendium is a stark, eloquent, timely reminder of the true stakes of our post–September 11th war against terrorism, a struggle that should transcend partisanship and whose outcome will fundamentally affect the future of freedom."

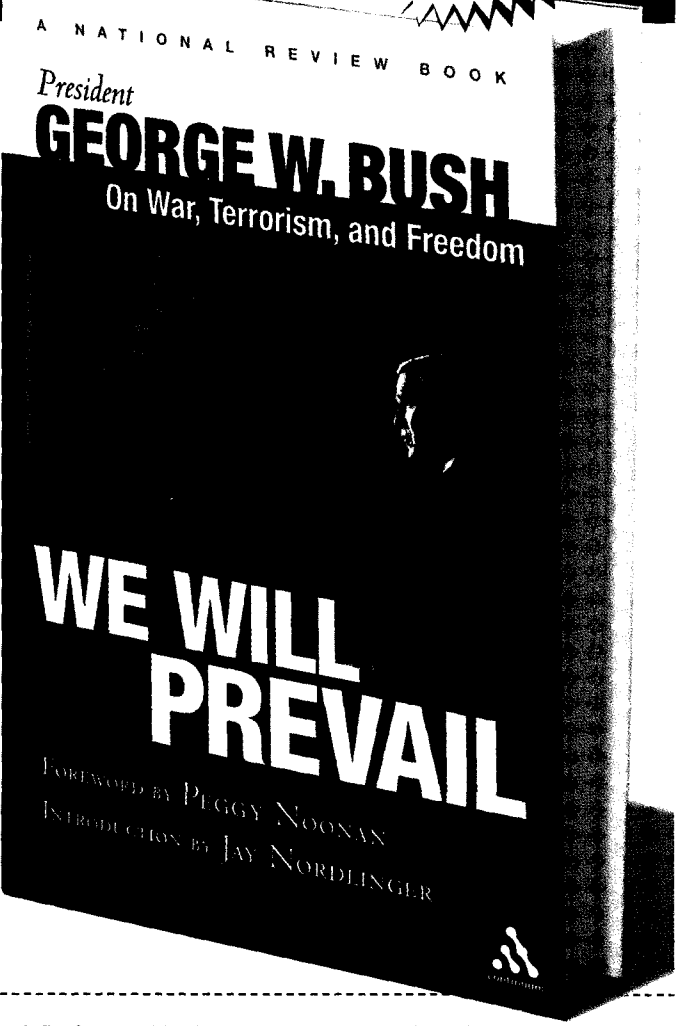
—*Steve Forbes*

We Will Prevail is the definitive collection of the most compelling and inspiring speeches on war, terrorism, and freedom given by President George W. Bush as he rallied the United States and other nations after the terrible and tragic attacks of September 11, 2001.

Featuring over 90 speeches, proclamations, and statements selected by *National Review*—with a Foreword by renowned author and speechwriter Peggy Noonan, and an Introduction by *NR* Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger—*We Will Prevail* shows a war president handling the special rhetorical responsibilities of a war presidency.

From President Bush's powerful State of the Union, West Point commencement, and United Nations addresses to humbler, almost off-hand statements, *We Will Prevail* is a fascinating record of our time that you will want for your personal library, or to send as a thoughtful gift.

Order your first-printing copy of the handsome, hardcover edition direct from *NR* for only $24.95. Shipping and handling are FREE.



PUBLISHED IN CONJUNCTION WITH

continuum
NEW YORK • LONDON

National Review • 215 Lexington Avenue • New York, NY • 10016

Send me _____ copies of ***We Will Prevail: President George W. Bush on War, Terrorism, and Freedom***. My cost is $24.95 for a hardcover, first-printing copy (shipping and handling are FREE!). I enclose total payment of $_____. Send to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

(NY State residents must add sales tax.)

PAYMENT METHOD:

☐ Check enclosed (payable to *National Review*)

☐ Bill my ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

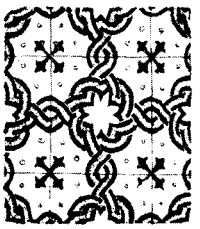
Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

correspondent who prefers to deal in myth rather than consider realities. Everything that has ever gone wrong with Iran, he thinks, is the fault of the British. Admittedly, the British had discovered Iran's oil resources, and developed the huge Anglo-Iranian Oil Company—but they did this only to exploit Iran's wealth. In the face of these colonialists, the Iranians could do nothing except grow angry. Righteous indignation bubbles out of Kinzer.



It might all have been so different—because, in its hour of crisis, Iran produced Mossadegh, whom Kinzer in awe and trembling more than once calls a titan, a towering figure, "one of history's most gifted visionaries." A tall man with a stoop and the lugubrious appearance of a vulture, Mossadegh was an aristocrat, educated in France and Switzerland. Breathless, resting on a cane, in and out of clinics, bursting into tears or fainting dead away at well-chosen moments, he acted out a high-class melodrama all his own. Between the wars, as a member of the rubber-stamp Iranian parliament, he began his lifelong challenge to the Pahlavi shahs in power since 1926. If they could rule, he believed, so could he.

In pre-Pahlavi days, shahs of Iran had engaged in incessant warfare with their neighbors, the rival Muslim rulers of Ottoman Turkey and Afghanistan, and the czars of Russia. Making and breaking treaties, losing territories steadily (especially to Russia), these shahs weakened—and took their people down with them. Fearful of this decline and the corresponding superiority of the West, reformers in Iran, like those in Ottoman Turkey and czarist Russia, proposed programs of constitutional reform. Power struggles followed between reformers and the shah, the sultan, and the czar they had in their respective sights. The autocrats duly fell, to be replaced by Reza Pahlavi, Ataturk, and Lenin.

An upstart risen from the ranks, Reza Shah Pahlavi seized power in a coup. He set about westernizing Iran, with no regard for Islamic sensibilities. When he made the crucial mistake of backing Hitler, the British summarily ejected him in favor of his son Mohammad Reza. Lenin's successor, Stalin, soon proved to be every bit as acquisitive as the former czars, and during and after World War II he contrived to set up a puppet republic in northern Iran, and to organize the Communist Tudeh party in his support. Under British pressure, Stalin reluctantly withdrew. In spite of the doubts they had about the Pahlavis, Kinzer's colonialist British maintained Iran's territorial integrity for the sake of order.

Mohammad Reza Shah was still young and inexperienced, and Mossadegh judged that the surefire way to overthrow him was to attack the British. He therefore called for the nationalization of Anglo-Iranian. This brought enthusiastic and often violent mobs out into the street. The British refused to make real concessions to Mossadegh, and Kinzer may be right that, since they had already retreated from India and Palestine, this was impossibly inflexible of them. But Mossadegh never had any intention of compromising; he was banging the nationalist drum for all he was worth.

Britain and the U.S. understood that the likeliest outcome of Mossadegh's cunning introduction of disorder was the downfall of the shah, and the creation of a void in which the Communists would assume power. In that event, Iran would find itself frogmarched into the Soviet bloc. China had just gone Communist, and the Korean War was not yet stabilized. The recently promulgated Truman Doctrine stated that the U.S. would come to the defense of any people threatened by Communism. President Truman and Britain's Clement Attlee discussed the use of force in Iran, only to reject it in the hope that the whole issue would somehow resolve itself. The election of Churchill in Britain and Eisenhower in the U.S. then brought into office two men who did not hesitate to enforce order. They agreed that a coup would serve the purpose better than a military expedition. The CIA officer chosen to direct it was Kermit Roosevelt, grandson of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Churchill and Eisenhower agreed that a coup would serve the purpose better than a military expedition.

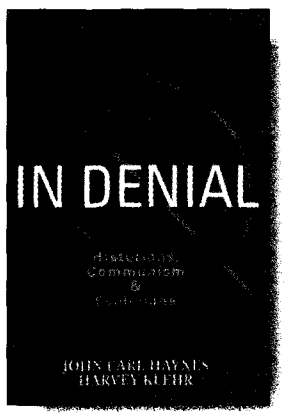
Quietly and methodically, Roosevelt coordinated his plans in Tehran with politicians and army officers who were anti-Communist and loyal to the shah. They were able to manipulate the mob against Mossadegh, much as he had manipulated it against the shah. Surprisingly, Mossadegh did not suspect what was happening, and lost his chance to take the police measures that might have saved him. In contrast, the shah immediately concluded that Mossadegh would succeed, and fled in panic in a private plane to Baghdad. Kinzer relies on rather well-known secondary sources but gives a thorough and useful account of the mechanics of the coup, even if he cannot resist sneering at its executors.

In the era of Nasser, Sukarno, and Nehru, the defeated Mossadegh became a symbol of the nationalist hero done down by wicked imperialists. When the shah returned from Baghdad, he misread the outcome of the coup as evidence of his popularity; he came to believe that he could modernize Iran as he saw fit. In reality, he proved a rather weak man, vain, unwilling or unable to be a benevolent autocrat or, alternatively, to introduce the constitutional reforms that had been in the air for most of a century. So he brought on his own head the successful revolution that Ayatollah Khomeini managed in 1979. A Shia divine and a forbidding personality, an autocrat through and through, Khomeini set up a religious dictatorship and reversed as much westernization as possible.

None of that would have happened, Kinzer likes to think, if the CIA had not frustrated Mossadegh. This is simplistic, not to say fanciful. Order was preserved in Iran at a time of emergency, just as military intervention in Iraq is establishing order in today's uncertain world. According to intelligence reports, the ayatollahs are likely to have a nuclear weapon within 18 months, endangering their own people and many others. Preservation of order may then require measures larger in scale and far more costly in every way than Kermit Roosevelt's elegant coup. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Treason of the Clerks



In Denial: Historians, Communism & Espionage, by John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr (Encounter, 300 pp., $25.95)

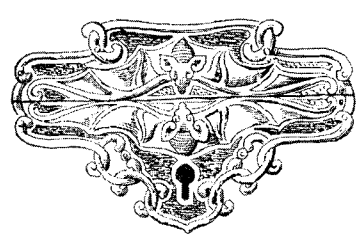
MICHAEL KNOX BERAN

NEARLY a decade ago John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, having gathered much valuable material in the archives of the defunct USSR, published *The Secret World of American Communism*. That book exposed as sentimental whimsy the notion that the American Communist party was a "courageous and idealistic band of rebels" who made useful contributions to the republic; it was instead, Haynes and Klehr showed, a group of flunkies slavishly obedient to Josef Stalin's commands. Four years later, in *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America*, the two scholars used newly available documents from the Venona Project—a top-secret American code-breaking operation—to demonstrate the real damage done by the Communist spy rings of the 1930s and 1940s.

In their new book, Haynes and Klehr turn from writing history to writing about it. They catalog the activities of a corps of zealots in the academy who have refused to accept the archival revelations of the last decade. Far from being baffled and disheartened by the evidence that accumulated so rapidly in the 1990s, these scholars are doing their best both to extenuate the sins of the American Communists and to make light of the Soviet purposes they furthered in this country.

Haynes and Klehr trace the origins of this revisionist revolution to the 1960s and 1970s, when a number of historians attempted, they write, to "'normalize' the Stalinist regime by minimizing the number of victims of the Terror and the Gulag." After portions of the old Soviet archives were opened in the 1990s, the revisionist claims became unsustainable; but, far from blanching at newly documented horrors, many scholars continued to whitewash Lenin and Stalin. Lenin, according to Theodore Von Laue, a revisionist scholar at Clark University, was a "Russian Patriot." Stalin, he maintains, was a "remarkably humble" man in light of his tremendous "human achievement." Another revisionist, Robert W. Thurston of Miami University in Ohio, argues that "extensive fear did not exist" in Stalin's Russia. Stalin himself was "more human" than he has generally been portrayed, and so, too, was his governing philosophy. According to revisionists Leslie Adler and Thomas Paterson, Soviet Communism embodied a "humanistic ideology" that unfortunately never quite worked out.

In the revisionist reading, Stalin's American helpers have been even more unfairly traduced than their master in the Kremlin. Rejecting heaps of evidence uncovered in U.S. and Soviet archives, the revisionists seek to revive the myth of a kinder, gentler American Communism; their scholarship is devoted to putting a benign face on the NKVD agent next door. Some of the revisionists continue to insist on the truth of hoary legends about the innocence of Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs. Those revisionists who do concede the reality of the spies' crimes continue to regard them as sympathetic figures, guilty of something less than treason: They were advocates of "international cooperation" who engaged in an occasional "unauthorized technological transfer" or two, or they sought to advance a deeply "personal [and] utopian vision of world peace." At all events they weren't as bad as the American officials who persecuted them. Paul Buhle of Brown University describes a principal figure in the revisionists' demonology, President Truman, as "America's Stalin." No argument that might possibly cast the American Communists in a favorable light is so absurd but some revisionist driveller has put it forward.



Haynes and Klehr are astonished at how reluctant the revisionists have been to exchange the hapless work of defending American Communism for the more constructive task of trying to understand how they themselves could have come to be so wrong in their historical analysis. As a group the revisionists seem never to have cultivated even the most rudimentary arts of introspection; it seems never to have occurred to most of them that perhaps—just perhaps—they are the victims of their own delusive idealism, the fantastic egotism that a certain kind of intellectual piety breeds.

And yet occasionally the authors of *In Denial* discover, in the dim annals of revisionist scholarship, a flash of tragic insight. Gerda Lerner, a one-time Communist party activist who in 1981 was elected president of the Organization of American Historians, had the candor to confess, "I wanted the Soviet Union to be a successful experiment in socialist democracy and so I checked my critical faculties when it came to that subject, and instead accepted what I wanted to hear on faith." Lerner conceded that she "fell uncritically for lies I should have been able to penetrate and perceive as such. Like all true believers, I believed as I did because I needed to believe: in a utopian vision of the future, in the possibility of human perfectibility, in idealism and heroism, and I still need that belief, even if the particular vision I embraced has turned to ashes."

In Denial, for all its virtues, does not go very far in helping us to understand why intelligent people should be so

Mr. Beran's book, Jefferson's Demons, will be published in October.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reluctant to abandon the last tattered shreds of the Marxist-Leninist faith. Nor, perhaps, was there any need for Haynes and Klehr to try to answer this question, for the psychological key was many years ago provided by Whittaker Chambers in *Witness*. Chambers treated Communism as a symptom of a deeper crisis. Faith, he wrote, "is the central problem of this age. . . . Other ages have had great visions. They have always been different versions of the same vision: the vision of God and man's relationship to God. The Communist vision is the vision of Man without God."

Men and women who are called to a studious life are precisely those who stand in direst need of a lofty and intellectually elaborate faith. Today's professors are the remote descendants of the clerks of the Middle Ages; but they are a clerisy bereft of the visions that inspired the scholar-priests who for centuries carried on the spiritual traditions of Western Christendom. The old light grew dark; and men lost the art of handing down their liturgies unimpaired. In composing *Witness* Chambers aspired to revive the lost art of transmission. The book was never intended to be merely a refutation of the Communist heresy: It was an attempt to revive the machinery by which the older, better faiths had for centuries been perpetuated.

A single volume, however, will only rarely be enough to reinstate a tradition of prophetic composition; and the secular academy has never awarded *Witness* the laurels it deserves. The revisionists depicted by Haynes and Klehr show us how far Chambers was from effecting the reformation he sought; to many contemporary inhabitants of the academic cloister, even so sullen and degraded a faith as that of Marx is more appealing, more intrinsically plausible, than the faith that moved Dante. The spectacle of the modern university is one more evidence of the breakdown Chambers sought to repair. Communism, of course, is dying fast, even if a remnant struggles to keep the sapless trunk alive. But some new weed, equally noxious, will grow up in its place—unless we find a means of reviving the more splendid plants. **NR**

■ MUSIC ■

The Underwear Festival

JAY NORDLINGER

Salzburg, Austria

THE most important music festival in the world, and what do people want to talk about? The weather, of course. It's hot. Really hot. Record-breaking hot. If we were back home, in the U.S.A., everyone would be saying, "Hot enough for you?" As it is, they simply roll their eyes and fan themselves.

A concert of the Camerata Salzburg takes place in the Mozarteum—in the Grosser Saal. The windows and doors are shut tight, and there is no air conditioning (to speak of). I nickname the place "the Grosser Sauna." I'm surprised that people aren't taken out on stretchers. The men in the orchestra have their jackets off, an unusual sight. The women are in spaghetti straps and such. Only the conductor—Leonidas Kavakos, a young Greek—has his jacket on. He should be applauded for that alone. Or psychologically examined.

For years, people have talked about the need for air conditioning, and not just in the Mozarteum: in all the halls. But somehow, nothing ever changes. Some suspect that this is the way the Salzburg authorities like it: sweaty and stifling. It's part of the experience. The room may be a furnace, but men will wear their dinner jackets anyway—they need them for their medals. At a public forum, Michael Schade—the great tenor who is singing the title role of *La Clemenza di Tito*—says he wants to start a new party in Austria: the Air Conditioning party. He gets huge applause.

The Salzburg Festival is known as a bastion of tradition, but it should be known—at least where opera is concerned—as a bastion of the ultramodern, not to say the outré. When people complain about the productions, as sometimes they do, they're apt to say, "And in Salzburg, of all places!"

Mozart is the local hero, of course, and three of his operas are on the schedule: *Tito*, as well as *Don Giovanni* and *The Abduction from the Seraglio*. All of these productions are "controversial"—which is often the polite word for outrageous, which may, in turn, be the polite word for abominable or disgraceful.

Begin with *La Clemenza di Tito*, an opera that tends to be overlooked in the Mozart oeuvre. Its director is Martin Kušej, a hotshot on the Continent, and someone those Salzburg authorities obviously think a lot of: He is set to take over the festival's drama department in 2005.

As his *Tito* begins, young boys come out in their underwear. What does this mean? Many interpretations have been offered, but I will give you my own. It means, "I'm the director, I can do what I want, to hell with you—and with Mozart, for that matter." This opening shot is reminiscent of the ads that got Calvin Klein in trouble all those years ago.

You want sex? Kušej provides a fair amount of that, because, at this festival, if you don't get sex, you've been shortchanged. There are two couples, composed of four women, because two of the roles are trouser roles. The women—the women women—are in their underwear. The grappling that takes place isn't subtle. You've got breast fondling, butt grabbing, lip locking—the whole nine yards. This is not so much titillating as discomfiting, rude. A more suggestive approach would be sexier. At one point, Sesto—portrayed by the brilliant Vesselina Kasarova—grabs at his/her crotch, affecting to tug on something that, in fact, isn't there. Oh, well.

Does anyone dare protest? Well, now and then. But you don't want to protest too aggressively, because you don't want to be labeled a square, a prude, a fuddy-duddy—someone not cool enough for today's opera. What's wrong with you, anyway? Repressed?

At the end of the opera, Martin Kušej brings the boys back—only this time, they're wearing undershirts, as well as briefs. Not to worry: They are promptly stripped of their shirts and draped over tables, served as sacrifices (or some-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thing). A man and a woman are seated at each table, apparently about to dine on the boy. They synchronize their expressions, giving a frozen frown or smile. The effect is utterly creepy, distracting from the dénouement that Mozart, and his librettist, Metastasio, have planned. But who cares about them? This is a director's show.

The *Don Giovanni*, too, is a Martin Kušej show—unveiled for the first time last season. It opens with a large photo across the stage. This features about six girls, lying on their stomachs, their bare behinds to the camera. Two of the girls are playing with each other. You will find this sort of thing in any glossy, New York-based magazine. Once upon a time, it would have been provocative—now it's rather yawny.

Before long, real girls walk onto the stage, wearing sunglasses and trench coats. (Sunglasses, too, have become a cliché.) These chicks all sport sullen looks, in the manner of models. They quickly remove their trench coats, to reveal their underwear—in which they will remain for most of the opera. The Donna Anna is in underwear, too; but since she is Anna Netrebko—the gorgeous Russian soprano—you might forgive the director.

The stage is dominated by a kind of giant lazy Susan, which spins around to reveal all sorts of strange things. During Leporello's Catalogue Aria, we see a topless lady shaving her legs, football players clashing at the line of scrimmage (I kid you not), and a little girl skipping rope. Is this last creature one of the Don's future conquests? Or a current one? It's a disgusting question, but one such a production makes you ask.

You will have noticed that, so far, I haven't really touched on music. There is a reason for that: We are in the age of "director-driven" opera, so we're told, and the directors have so taken over, with their conceits and stunts, that the singers have been virtually shoved aside, along with the composers. Even so, Thomas Hampson—the Don—is a marvel in this production. He is not only the great Don Giovanni of our time, but one of the greatest of all time. Every word, every note, every gesture is right—a stunning performance.

But back to underwear: As the Don unravels, the pretty girls in their underwear are replaced by old ladies . . . in their underwear. These are women of a certain size, most of them, and they are gotten up (or down) to look as cronish as possible. Happy hell, Don Giovanni!

The third Mozart? You will be relieved to know that *The Abduction from the Seraglio* does not begin with underwear. No, a couple walks out just as Nature made them. This is FULL FRONTAL NUDITY, as Monty Python used to say. Soon enough, however, they get into their . . . underwear, and then into wedding costumes (don't ask).

The director, this time, is not Martin Kušej, but Stefan Herheim—another hotshot/bad boy. As he rips through Mozart's great opera, he simulates oral sex, and then intercourse. When Osmin and Blonde appear together, he lets them have clothes. But not really. Osmin ties around the girl an apron that depicts . . . "full frontal nudity." Now she *appears* to be naked, ha, ha, ha. Then Osmin plays with what I believe is a kitchen mixer—an item with a rod—waving it just below his waist. Ha, ha, ha, *again*.

But wait: In due course, Osmin *himself* gets an apron that is "full frontal"—male variety. At this point, there are some boos and catcalls, and several people leave (voting with their feet). This, naturally, is countered by ostentatious applauding and bravo-ing—by people eager to show that they, unlike the dinosaurs, are with the program.

A blunt question: Have directors gone nuts? Maybe they're just bored. Maybe they sit around, with their big budgets and big opportunities, thinking about what they might get away with next. (The answer is depressing, as much for them, probably, as for us: Anything.) If they really wanted to shock, they would conceive a production in harmony with the piece. As they parade around in their underwear and sunglasses—or have others do so—you want to shout, "The Emperor has no clothes!" But it's not just the Emperor . . .

I think of something Bill Buckley once said about Norman Mailer: "If only he would lift his gaze from the world's genitals." Yes, if only. But when people like me—when "conservatives"—lodge a complaint, we're apt to be told that we are "hung up." In truth, it is the directors themselves who are hung up, and should get over it. As an acquaintance of mine says—thinking about Osmin and that kitchen mixer (or whatever)—"Shouldn't we have been through with that by age 14 or so?"

There are other productions on offer here: the late Herbert Wernicke's *Don Carlo*, for example. It contains no nudity, no underwear. Eboli *does* have an eyepatch, making Olga Borodina, the great Russian mezzo, look like Moshe Dayan. David McVicar compensates for this relative squareness, however, by purveying—in his new *Tales of Hoffmann*—naked, bloody flagellation, in addition to a string of rapes. How 'bout that?

Don't get me wrong. Salzburg, as usual, is full of magnificent things, magnificent music-making. In a world chock-full of summer music festivals, it is still king, by a wide margin. But this has been an undeniably weird season: the weather, these productions, the dress and undress. A distinguished lady in town informs me that one of the festival's sponsors is Palmers, Austria's leading underwear manufacturer. Isn't that perfect? **NR**

"The Israelis want me as a captive, an exile or dead. But I will be a martyr, martyr, martyr."
—Yasir Arafat

$27.50

Occupying the center stage of Middle East politics for almost four decades, Arafat stands as one of the most resilient, recognizable and controversial political figures of modern times. *Yasir Arafat* is the most comprehensive and definitive political biography of this remarkable man.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS | At bookstores everywhere. www.oup-usa.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ MUSIC II ■

An Alpine Idyll

STUART ISACOFF

On a recent gray July morning in the Alpine village of Verbier, Switzerland, pianist Emanuel Ax and violinist Christian Tetzlaff were sounding the final notes of a recital encore—the scherzo from Brahms's Sonata in D minor—when they were joined by the soft murmur of distant thunder. It rumbled through the performance space, a church referred to (simply) as L'Eglise, at exactly the right instant, creating the impression that a gentle timpani roll had been intended all along for the ending of this piece, and everyone, audience members and artists alike, broke into broad smiles.

The communion of nature and art is one of the selling points of the Verbier Festival. Certainly, it's hard to imagine a more beautiful place than this pristine ski resort, nestled, even in summer, in the lap of magnificent ice-capped mountains. It can be artistically exquisite as well. The recital by Tetzlaff and Ax, featuring Mozart, Debussy, and Grieg, was music-making of the very highest order. And if some of the other offerings didn't quite reach that level, there were compensations.

For example, the gala concert celebrating the festival's tenth anniversary was the kind of star-studded affair that makes for an unforgettable evening, regardless of artistic outcome. Here were some of the world's top pianists, including Ax, Leif Ove Andsnes, Martha Argerich, Evgeny Kissin, Lang Lang, James Levine, and Mikhail Pletnev, among others, playing together on one stage—up to eight pianos at a time—along with a string orchestra featuring such renowned soloists as Sarah Chang, Gidon Kremer, Vadim Repin, Dmitri Sitkovetsky, Nikolaj Znaider, Yuri Bashmet, and Mischa Maisky. Watching rehearsals, one feared the worst. Sometimes as things went awry, many of the usually disciplined pianists would giddily succumb to the urge to bang away in a musical free-for-all. One afternoon on the stage of the large tent used for evening concerts, Ax, usually a beacon of calm, could be heard pleading for order as Levine searched for the missing bars in his part. Entropy waited eagerly in the wings.

Nevertheless, in the end, things went relatively well. The performances ranged from a graceful, glowing Mozart Sonata for four hands played by Argerich and Kissin, to workmanlike ensemble playing, to a train-wreck of a Scott Joplin rag in which eight great classical artists proved that they can't swing. But what a happening!

Martin Engstroem, the founder and executive director of the Verbier Festival, has always managed to attract big-name talent, even without a large budget. Years ago he confessed that he had enticed Isaac Stern and Evgeny Kissin to Verbier by telling each that the other had requested an opportunity to play with him. One wonders how he convinced all these stars to join in what Leif Ove Andsnes called "that crazy concert." "It's so funny," Engstroem says, "because so many of them asked me the same question: 'How did you get us to do this?' I have a personal relationship with most of these people, developed over many years. I think

Mr. Isacoff is editor of Piano Today magazine and author of the book Temperament: How Music Became a Battleground for the Great Minds of Western Civilization (Vintage).

THE LOST GARDEN

If ever we see those gardens again,
The summer will be gone—at least our summer.
Some other mockingbird will concertize
Among the mulberries, and other vines
Will climb the high brick wall to disappear.

How many footpaths crossed the old estate—
The gracious acreage of a grander age—
So many trees to kiss or argue under,
And greenery enough for any mood.
What pleasure to be sad in such surroundings.

At least in retrospect. For even sorrow
Seems bearable when studied at a distance,
And if we speak of private suffering,
The pain becomes part of a well-turned tale
Describing someone else who shares our name.

Still, thinking of you, I sometimes play a game.
What if we had walked a different path one day,
Would some small incident have nudged us elsewhere
The way a pebble tossed into a brook
Might change the course a hundred miles downstream?

The trick is making memory a blessing,
To learn by loss the cool subtraction of desire,
Of wanting nothing more than what has been,
To know the past forever lost, yet seeing
Behind the wall a garden still in blossom.

—DANA GIOIA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many of them performed because it was not only the birthday of the festival but also my own birthday. I told those who were a bit hesitant, 'You are doing this for me.'

"But I believe the primary reason they come has to be artistic. That it's nice and joyful here is 'added value.' I always ask artists to perform a piece they've never played before, or to play with people they've never worked with before. Some artists, like Martha Argerich, I try to inspire with new repertoire. She recently learned the Brahms G minor Piano Quartet. When I first asked her to play this, she said, 'I'm not friends with Brahms.' But I told her that the piece was really for her. She started working on it and said, 'Perhaps you're right.' Gidon Kremer had never played it. I put the two of them together with Bashmet and Maisky. And it resulted in our Deutsche Grammophon recording, which is coming out in January. Therefore, I feel like a partner in whom they trust. And this confidence is the key element of the relationships."

'I always ask artists to perform a piece they've never played before, or to play with people they've never worked with before.'

Two less visible partners in the success of the festival are no less impressive. One, Ulrich Gerhartz, is the Steinway technician who personally selected (based on his knowledge of the playing style of each soloist) and tuned all eight pianos for the gala concert. Gerhartz, who runs the technical-services department of Steinway Hall in London, began his tuning regimen at 3 A.M., and achieved incredible results despite the odds (Mikhail Pletnev, surveying the situation, had asked him, "Why bother?").

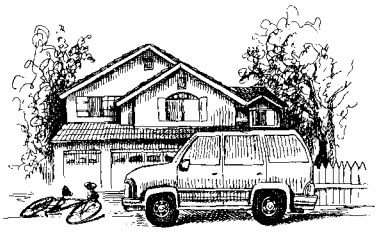
The other is a banker named Georges Gagnebin, and therein lies a tale. Gagnebin is chairman of UBS Wealth Management & Business Banking in Zurich, and it was his decision to link the corporate image of the biggest asset manager in the world to an orchestra of young musicians. "In 1995, I gave a group of young people the task of coming up with ten ideas about how we could communicate our values to clients," he remembers. "One of these was to build a youth orchestra. The reaction within UBS was: 'Are you crazy? We are bankers, not artists.' But I thought about the nature of an orchestra. You cannot have a better image of different kinds of people coming together, building a unity, a team, and delivering a common message. That's what we do at the bank." Gagnebin, who is clearly passionate about this project, could not be dissuaded—not even by Martin Engstroem, who at first blush rejected the idea.

The UBS Verbier Festival Youth Orchestra—whose members, all under the age of 29, are selected in auditions around the world—is now in residence at the festival under the musical direction of James Levine, and they are a remarkable ensemble. UBS funds the endeavor, and Georges Gagnebin believes they are getting their money's worth. "Everyone can identify with these musicians," he reports. "Beginning in 2001 we built our public communication on this idea, with posters showing these young musicians." I saw one while traveling on a lift up to the top of Mt. Fort. On it, the question, "Do you try to do your very best every day?" was placed prominently beside a picture of an orchestra member. "It's great externally for our clients, and it's great internally for our employees—a fantastic message," says Gagnebin. "It's investing in youth, but it's also about high performance—it says you have to deliver. And it represents something in which we believe—you have people from all religions, races, languages, countries, coming together, like at the bank. After we began the project we had 'derivatives'—we made small ensembles and brought them on tour."

In an age when many corporate entities are spending small fortunes in marketing through the short-lived celebrity of pop icons, UBS is aligning itself with something of enduring value while furthering beauty in the world. Now, that's something worth celebrating. **NR**

■ THE STRAGGLER ■

Conversion Experience



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

I GREW up believing there were only two kinds of luggage: trunks and suitcases. The old style of steamer trunk was still around in my salad days (the 1960s). I actually took one with me when I left home to go to college. It was a glorious thing, a relic from the heroic age of luggage, the kind of Victorian monster that Henry Morton Stanley might have lost fording a river. It was strictly an item for porters and redcaps to deal with, though. For stuff one carried oneself, the suitcase was the thing.

Wheels were beginning to make an appearance, and some avant-garde spirits could occasionally be seen tugging a suitcase with a pair of wheels stuck on one corner, the tugging being accomplished by dint of a strap attached at the diametrically opposite corner. This was an unhappy and unstable contraption, an unimaginative hybrid like those early digital watches where the rectangular display of numbers was imbedded in a traditional circular watch face. I never bothered with it, and schlepped a series of suitcases and shoulder bags across three continents over 30 years.

The best of them was my Saks bag. Leaving New York to get married abroad in 1986, and perhaps with the mind to have one last bachelor fling before the curtain came down on my days of reckless spending, I went to Saks Fifth Avenue and bought a disgracefully expensive bag. It was, and still is, a robust yet beautiful thing, expandable to twice its width via some clever zipper

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

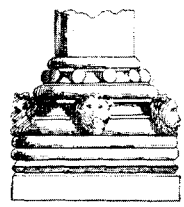
work, with a dog-clipped padded webbing strap to attach for shoulder carrying. In un-expanded state, it is precisely the right size to fit into those wooden boxes they set up near airport check-in counters, to test whether your bag is too big for carry-on. This one looks as though it ought to be; but it has survived all challenges, and seen me through this recent era in which it has come to be thought an essential life skill for a person, traveling alone, to manage with only carry-on luggage.

Meanwhile, wheelie technology was advancing steadily. That early unhappy style of suitcase with attached wheels had been superseded by the first true wheelies: bags built on a wheeled frame with an extending handle, so you could walk along upright while pulling the thing. I was not tempted. For one thing, it was mainly women that used wheelies, and older women in particular—wheelies seemed to go with tweed suits and sensible shoes. I felt sure that whatever the French noun for "wheelie" was, it took the article *la*, not *le*. A man needed no assistance from one-inch wheels. He hefted his suitcase or shoulder bag stoically, even if he had to lean over at 40° from the vertical to do so.

I did not know then that over quite large areas of human life, women are what the advertising industry refers to as "early adopters." In his WW2 memoir *Quartered Safe Out Here*, George MacDonald Fraser notes the common soldiers' prejudice against filter-tip cigarettes, at that time quite a new thing. "That's a tart's cigarette, man!" scoffed a comrade when GMF produced one. I can recall a parallel opinion about automatic transmissions when they first appeared. Only a woman would seek that degree of separation from the raw, the real, the mechanical (went the prejudice); men drove stick shifts. Well, pretty soon men were driving automatics, puffing on filter-tip cigarettes as they did so.

So it was with wheelies. I took my whole family off to China for the summer of 2001. By that time I had already seen men pulling wheelies. Not dubious men, either, but indisputably masculine men—large, square Texans, thick-necked big-city-cop types, *military men*. I was not yet ready, though. A natural conservative, I am at one with Aldous Huxley, who, after seeing one of the first talking pictures, wrote: "I can watch unmoved the departure of the last social-cultural bus—the innumerable last buses which are starting at every instant in all the world's capitals. I make no effort to board them, and when the noise of each departure has died down, 'Thank Goodness!' is what I say to myself in the solitude." Preparing for China, I bought wheelies for my wife and each of the kids, but disdained to buy one for myself. I still had my Saks bag from 15 years before, and did not feel that its stupendous price tag had yet been fully amortized.

There were no dire consequences to this decision, mainly because China is well supplied with able-bodied young men (and, in country districts, women and children, too) very willing to carry your bags for a dollar. Still, several weeks of watching my family strolling along happily with their wheelies in tow gave me cause for reflection. Some months after we returned to the States, an old back problem flared up and refused to yield to treatments that had proved successful before. Then—we have reached spring of the current year—I had a new book out, and my publisher was flying me round the country for "events." After the first couple of these trips, I realized that, *primo*, shoulder bags are no help at all for a lower-back problem, and *secondo*, I was the last person in the U.S.A. not to own a wheelie.



I buckled. Preparing for a third or fourth "event," I hesitated while reaching up for my Saks bag. My hand wavered. I withdrew it, cast one longing lingering look behind, went up into the attic, and brought down my wife's wheelie.

Things did not go well at first. The wheelie's handle, pulled out to full extension, was not quite long enough, so that I had to tilt to one side slightly while towing it. While not as bad as being forced to lean out in counterweight to 50 pounds of freight hanging from the opposite shoulder, this took the shine off the experiment, and I contemplated returning to the old religion.

Then came an "event" in Washington, D.C., my publisher's home town. I had lunch at their office, and voiced my disappointment at this first wheelie experience. One of them slipped out, to return five minutes later with a brand-new wheelie, bearing the firm's name and logo. "Try this one," she urged. I tried it. Not only did the handle extend a full six inches further than the one on my wife's wheelie, not only did it have *double wheels* (two sets of two, I mean), it also converted to a backpack, with shoulder straps and a suitcase-type carrying handle!

The clouds of doubt parted; a shaft of bright sunlight burst through; like the late, incomparable Hank Williams, I saw the light. I accepted the gift with a heart brimming over, silently praying that I might be forgiven for all the wicked, uncharitable things I have thought and said about publishers. Strolling across the concourse at Union Station on my way home, I knew that I had done the right thing. I shall never be able to look at my faithful old Saks bag without a twinge of remorse, but neither, I know, shall I ever go back. Nothing will now part me from my wheelie. This is for keeps. **NR**

LEGACY

WHAT WILL YOURS BE?

What will you bequeath to future generations? How will the ideals you cherish *now* be sustained *then*? Who will articulate your principles for the sake of your grandchildren, your faith, your community, and your country?

There is an answer.

With your help, *National Review* will endure as a powerful voice, sustaining those beliefs you hold dear. Now. And for future generations.
As ever, standing athwart history, yelling Stop.

To obtain more information about remembering *National Review* in your will or estate, please contact:
National Review, Legacy
Attn.: James Kilbridge
215 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10016
212-679-7330

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

classified advertisements

AIRFARES

LAST MINUTE airfare savings.
www.BidonTravel.com/lastminute.html

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

$400 WEEKLY ASSEMBLING PRODUCTS. For free information, send SASE: Home Assembly—NR Box 216, New Britain, Conn. 06050-0216.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

READ BETTER in six hours. Teach yourself, others. Proven program since 1980. www.dmpubcom.com

FOR SALE

TRADITIONAL 16TH CENTURY RETABLOS OF SPANISH NEW MEXICO. Hand painted. 505-538-0591
Retablos35@yahoo.com

HOTELS

SAVE on hotels and resorts.
www.BidonTravel.com

"Rated One of New York City 'Best Value' Hotels." ... *Zagats*

New York's all suite hotel is located in the heart of the city, near corporations, theatre & great restaurants. Affordable elegance with all the amenities of home.

MURRAY HILL EAST SUITES
149 E. 39th St. (Bet 3rd & Lex) New York, NY 10016
Reservations 1-800-248-9999
Ask about our special National Review rates.

LITERARY

CONSERVATIVE BOOK DISCUSSION CLUB meets monthly in Manhattan. Call 212-627-8633, or email: r.agostini@att.net

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK. IVY HOUSE PUBLISHING GROUP. All Subjects Considered. 1-800-948-2786.
www.ivyhousebooks.com

AUTHOR'S SERVICES—Ghostwriting, Book Packaging, Design and/or Layout. Professional Writing. Call: 208-322-7239

INSTRUCTION

The McClintock
PIANO COURSE
A New Experience in Learning

Have you wished you could read music and play the piano, but never had the time to take lessons?

Now, without previous knowledge of music or the keyboard, you can confidently teach yourself at home—at your own pace.

After 30 years of research and experimentation, a complete Course (from basics to Bach) is available. Recommended by and for students, music educators and professionals.

3 volumes of music and 8 volumes of corresponding text in 2 handsomely boxed sets. Price: $388 plus tax where applicable. For a free brochure, write or call: McClintock Enterprises, 853 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York 10019 800-428-0018 or 212-956-3529

www.lorenemcclintock.com

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

National Collections
Delinquent Accounts • Returned Checks
Professional, courteous & efficient
Revenue Security Services
P.O. Box 23037
Corpus Christi, Tex. 78403
T: 800-276-0696
F: 361-883-1888
marketing@revenuesecurity.net
Member ACA

SEEKING EMPLOYMENT

Conservative NYC public high-school teacher looking to change careers. Seven years teaching plus two years marketing experience. Self-starter, problem solver, highly organized. Works well independently or with a group. E-mail to
surfonly707@aol.com

VACATION RENTALS

10,600+ VACATION RENTALS
http://CyberRentals.com
Rent homes, villas, condos direct from owners. Color photos & lowest rates. Or call 1-800-628-0558 for FREE written guide. CyberRentals.com

ROMANTIC MAINE COTTAGE in gorgeous Rockport oceanfront setting.
www.rose-cottage-maine.com

WEBSITES

WEIRDREPUBLIC.COM Incinerating liberal nonsense with the blowtorch of conservative reason.

Eaglewing.com—If you haven't thought much about gold funds, it's time.

Filtered Internet—Instantly screens websites, e-mail, instant messages, chat rooms. Removes porn, crudity. High speed or dialup. Great prices!
www.watchdogsales.com

Not for everyone, just those who consider their health their most valuable asset.
www.lifeplushealth.com

SUPPLY SIDERS GALORE

NRO Financial: Larry Kudlow, Stephen Moore, Alan Reynolds, Victor Canto, Robert Bartlett, James Glassman, and many more. Every day at: www.nationalreview.com

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT

NRO nationalreview ONLINE

". . . most-enjoyable-to-read conservative site on the web today."

—PoliticalProfessional.Com

www.nationalreview.com

NR REPRINTS AVAILABLE

"The War On Drugs Is Lost" ($1.70)
"The 100 Best Conservative Movies" ($1.50)
(Please add 50 cents for shipping and handling.)
Send to: NATIONAL REVIEW
215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016
Specify selection.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word min). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P.O.Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.
To Order: Full payment in advance by check, money order (payable to NATIONAL REVIEW), MasterCard, or Visa (include expiration date). Address: Kevin Longstreet, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Fax: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330.
Deadlines: Every other Friday (approx. 6 days before the magazine is printed).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Partnering with The Saudis

NEW YORK, AUGUST 1

U.S.-SAUDI relations aren't easily parsed. There are many reasons for this, but one of them is that the two countries have information about each other that they don't want publicized. In the exchange early in the week, the Saudis seemed to trump the Americans. Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal said it was perfectly okay by him to release the 28 pages from the congressional investigation into the September 11 strike. It was President Bush who declined to authorize the release of those pages.

Why?

Because, he said, there's stuff in there that we don't want in general circulation because that would jeopardize our channels of communication—perhaps some of the people who give us information, perhaps some of the methods we use to get information. The Saudi government was clearly teasing the Bush administration, with its show of we-have-nothing-to-hide. But its role is not all that easy, because the government does not want to give us back Omar al-Bayoumi. On this matter the Saudis are saying that we had extensive opportunity to interrogate Bayoumi and to prosecute him, if he had been in any way implicated in the September 11 attack. We let him go, he is back home, why should we want him yet again?

But Saudi openhandedness doesn't quite do it all. There is one datum that can't be made to go away: Fifteen of the 19 terrorists who hijacked the four airplanes on 9/11 were Saudis. From this dominating fact we quite naturally want to know what we can about the terrorists. How were they infected, how trained, how financed, how protected? What about fellow terrorists who didn't die on that mission in America? Where are they? Who is sheltering them?

The official explanation, of course, is that they were agents of Osama bin Laden, terrorists in the ongoing al-Qaeda enterprise. What the congressional investigation told us was that the intelligence community didn't have any way to predict exactly what would happen on September 11.

How to prepare ourselves? Is there a further precaution to take, beyond removing our shoes at airports?

That question brings us back to Saudi Arabia. Whatever the detours taken, it was Saudi money that financed the terrorists of 9/11, and we continue to learn that Saudi money is circulating through U.S. foundations and charities, financing mischievous activity. The Saudis had, in the attack on Riyadh in May, a taste of terrorism on their own soil. There are reports that Saudi officials are cracking down on security risks.

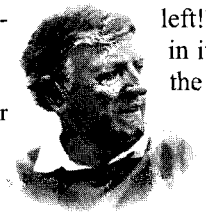
But Saudi Arabia is a mess. They're good at chopping the heads off people clearly guilty of high treason, but not so good at diligent measures to abort the gestation of such people. For all its wealth, Saudi Arabia is an incompetent, backward, bureaucratic, strategically illiterate rich lump. Tiny Qatar continues to sponsor al-Jazeera, the Goebbels of the Middle East. On Thursday, it broadcast one more message by Saddam Hussein urging—more activity by al-Qaeda. More killing. What do the Saudis need to stanch that nosebleed?

Other Things About Marriage

NEW YORK, AUGUST 8

IN the every-two-minutes bulletins on the sex/marriage/gay/religion wars, we detect wisps of mockery directed at conventional marriage with conventional aims. Those who are bent on introducing a little fun into the analyses tend almost always to use the word "procreation" with a faint sense of disdain. They tend to make the whole human life process sound rather like hard labor, which is appropriate to describe only one of the two episodes in the beginning of life: birth, but not conception. Hard labor faithfully describes one part of the third act, which is rearing the child. But attitudes can be skeptical, and derisive, as when a correspondent of AndrewSullivan.com introduces recondite bits of Vatican lore having to do with marriage and impotence, and asks such questions as, Is marriage continuingly sacred after the onset of impotence? etc., etc.

The dismissal of marriage as nothing more than that which is supposed to happen before children eventuate is sociology—the taboo-lifting license given to newlyweds who have formalized mating arrangements. Although we don't think very much about it, the breeding of children is of course required for the perpetuation of the race. Mocking Swedish emphases on unburdened sex and birth control and free abortion, the late Malcolm Muggeridge quipped to a friend, "Just think of the good side of it. By the year 2050 there will be zero Swedes left!" That was high mockery, but in its own way a reminder that if the world is to go on, so also do people need to be generated to inhabit it. If there is nobody living, who will be left to inveigh against the neglect of the environment?



What more is wanted is attention devoted to the extra-biological uses of marriage:

—When a child is born, something notoriously happens to the mother primarily, but also to the father. The romance of maternal love is suddenly there. The mother feels love for the child and exerts herself, in behalf of the child, to protect him/her. These qualities are of enormous importance in catalyzing, in the mother, faculties emotional, and spiritual.

—Both the father and the mother undertake intuitively to acknowledge a sense of obligation. This begins with teaching the child to keep clean, and, if the child's interest in hygiene should

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lead to an interest in medicine, could extend to helping the child earn a medical degree. It is vital to discern here that such help and devotion as are given to the child are neither entirely "interested" nor "disinterested." Yes, one motive in sacrificing in order to send the child to medical school might be self-concern—maybe when retirement happens, the affluent son or daughter might be able to help out. But the sweeping, unexamined, unheralded motive for helping the child is a sense of duty. The father and the mother show feelings of love and responsibility that are not equivalently evoked by any other relationship.

Yes, we love and venerate our parents, we try to help our friends, to love the poor, to give to the Red Cross. But it's not quite the same thing, is it? And one is permitted to wonder: What would society lose if the total sum of that care and love that are engendered by having children were lost to civilization?

If the above is true, is it also self-evident? We know that the composite impact of single-parent homes on children is huge. The poverty rate in single-parent homes is 400 percent of that for two-parent homes. Among long-term prison inmates, 70 percent grew up without a father in residence. There are comparable figures for illiteracy and drug use. The social problems we concern ourselves with in our mammoth federal programs would substantially end with the reconstitution of traditional family life.

There are always the exceptions. Gay couples who adopt children can show exemplary concern for them. But people who talk about marriage, and dismiss it with nothing more than perfunctory acknowledgment of the procreational arrangement, are not seeing through to the heart of the question.

Arnold's Hour?

NEW YORK, AUGUST 22

THE scene of Arnold Schwarzenegger with Milton Friedman (no less) figuratively on his right, and George Shultz (no less) on his left, declaring his intention to run for governor of California, is heady conservative endorsement. For one thing, the contrast was vivid. The first announcement was done under the auspices of Jay Leno.

There was the distracting presence of Warren Buffett, sitting next to Mr. Shultz. Mr. Buffett is richer even than Arabian sheiks, but to the conservative community he is noticeable mostly for having endorsed high death taxes and capital-gains taxes. The fact that Arnold Schwarzenegger is endorsed by the richest man in the world tells us very little about what Californians can hope to accomplish after Mr. Davis is ousted. But Friedman-Shultz is another matter. Mr. Friedman is the prime figure in the conservative pantheon in matters that have to do with economic growth and statist continence. Mr. Shultz is, after Henry Kissinger, the senior alumnus of conservative statecraft.

But why Schwarzenegger (hereinafter, Arnold, for convenience)? California conservatives have correctly dismissed any argument that he has gained his eminence by toiling in the vineyards of political thought. Comparisons with Ronald Reagan are mindless—Reagan spent ten years developing his political thought before seeking the governorship. Arnold and Ronald have in common only that they were theatrical celebrities, their names and faces instantly recognized by the voters.

But Arnold is out of step with conservative thinking on social policies, most particularly the question of the rights of the unborn child. He is vigorously in favor of abortion, and it pays to remind oneself that neither Friedman nor Shultz is active in social conservatism. Richard Nixon once told a friend that he had learned from his own experience running for governor of California in 1962 that you can't win merely by appealing to conservatives. "But you can't win unless you do appeal to conservatives."

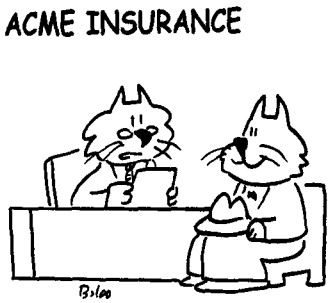
So what does Arnold have to offer to California conservatives?

He has primarily to offer his clean notoriety. He is the man who made it as an immigrant, radiates a pumped-iron health, made his urbane way into the Kennedy clan without taking vows of eternal servility, made and enhanced a considerable fortune by exploiting his physique and investing prudently—and he nicely accommodates the fantasy that to survive the greyness of California life, you need a touch of Cinderella. The awful conundrums of California economics and political demography welcome a Hollywood ending. But to get that, you need to come up through the ranks of the initiated. If you hope for theatrical recovery, you can't achieve it by voting for Bustamante.

Everyone in the United States, it seems, has commented on the California scene. The insight of Jerry Brown warrants attention. Mr. Brown is a little screwy, but very bright, and did two terms as governor. To skeptics he said, "It's obvious Schwarzenegger is qualified. I mean, what does it take to become a governor? I've been there, I've known all the governors since Earl Warren's time. And basically, if you have above-average intelligence, you have common sense, and you can speak in front of a camera and to a crowd, you can govern the state. I mean, after all, the governing process includes the legislature, a very competent civil service, and all sorts of rules and regulations that guide the state on its way. The whole thing about experience is a canard."

There are the special difficulties of October. There will be no primary. And there is only one visible Democratic candidate, competing against three substantial Republicans. What force will bring unity? A proposal: All three Republican candidates who trail the leader in the polls two weeks before October 7 should agree to withdraw, in favor of the leader.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE



"All nine, you say?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what's right

DAVID FRUM

All Right Already

A MAN is standing on the platform of the Darien, Conn., train station, reading the paper. An elderly woman joins him. She glances at him appraisingly, and then approaches to ask a question. "Excuse me, Mister, I am sorry to intrude, but I have to ask—Are you Jewish?"

The man is startled, but good-naturedly answers, "No, Ma'am, I'm not."

"Oh," says the woman in a crestfallen tone. A pause. "Are you quite sure you're not Jewish?"

"Yes, quite sure."

Another pause. "Maybe half-Jewish?"

"Madam," says the man with growing irritation, "I assure you: I have the greatest admiration and respect for the Jewish people. If I were Jewish, I would certainly acknowledge it. It just so happens that I'm Presbyterian."

Pause again. "You are absolutely certain you are not Jewish?"

Driven beyond endurance, the man shouts, "All right, all right, have it your way: Yes, I am Jewish. Now will you let me read my paper?"

"That's funny," the woman replies. "You don't look Jewish."

I think of this old joke whenever I pick up one of these super-heated screeds you see from anti-war conservatives about the sinister influence of the dreaded "neocons" on the Bush administration. Sometimes, when the screeds really get going, they will add my name to the list after their top hate-figures: Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle, Bill Kristol, and of course, NR's Jonah Goldberg. For a long time, I would register a little inward protest—"I have the greatest admiration and respect for the neoconservatives. If I were a neoconservative, I would certainly acknowledge it. But it just so happens that I'm . . . well, a plain-vanilla conservative."

The term "neoconservative" was coined back in the 1970s by people on the left as a term of abuse for those fellow leftists who were showing signs of backsliding from the lunatic orthodoxies of 1960s liberalism. In those mad days, it did not take much to earn the "neo" label. You could be a socialist like Penn Kemble or a yellow-dog Democrat like Daniel Patrick Moynihan—all you had to do was express some doubt that society was to blame whenever a black youth knocked down an old lady to steal her purse.

Quickly, however, the term "neoconservatism" assumed a more precise meaning. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, friends and foes of the neoconservatives came to accept something like the following definition: A neoconservative was a former liberal or leftist, typically from a poor background, typically Catholic or Jewish, who had been driven rightward by the intellectual and moral implosion of liberalism in the 1960s. They were often the children of immigrants. They had witnessed and in many cases suffered terrible oppression and persecution in Europe. As they saw it, the difference between America and Europe was the difference between life and death. They began as Democrats, but as the Democrats turned against American exceptionalism, so they turned against the Democrats. Still, they retained some of their youthful statism on economic issues and, often, some ancestral affection for Democratic heroes of the past: FDR, Truman, and sometimes Kennedy and Johnson.

What we have, in 'neocon,' is an epithet for all seasons.

(Hint: If you could get really angry about the depredations of the Federal Trade Commission, you were almost certainly not a neoconservative. I figured I didn't fit the profile, if only because I did get really angry about the depredations of the Federal Trade Commission.)

As the years wore on, the old line between neoconservatives and traditional Republicans began to blur: One ex-leftist-turned-rightist told me this story. She had attended the New York high school known as the Little Red Schoolhouse in the early 1950s. At her 40th reunion, one of her classmates reproached her for her political migration: "I hear you've become a neoconservative." The ex-leftist answered defiantly, "Yes—in fact, I've just re-registered as a Republican." "Oh please," her classmate replied. "Don't exaggerate."

If you remember your chemistry, though, you'll recall that when you mix two chemicals together into a solution, you sometimes release a third chemical that can no longer bind with either. In chemistry, this third chemical is called a "precipitate." In the conservative world, it began to call itself "paleoconservatism," and it specialized in increasingly strident denunciations of neoconservatism, sometimes with a pronounced anti-Semitic tinge.

Through the 1990s, paleoconservatism exerted remarkably little influence on events. But after 9/11, the paleos at last discovered a role—and an audience. Their idea that America had brought 9/11 on itself because of its support of Israel—and that the whole war on terror was a sinister Jewish plot—was eagerly heeded everywhere from the Saudi-funded think tanks of Washington to the left-wing newspapers of Europe. While the paleos personally failed to make much of a comeback (people who cannot restrain themselves from comparing Abraham Lincoln to Adolf Hitler will have trouble finding a welcome in polite society), their conspiratorial worldview and their sly labeling have helped to frame the discourse of the world.

Today, two years after 9/11, the term "neocon" gets applied to pretty much anyone who believes in the fundamental goodness of America and the rightness of its war. If you refuse to hear excuses for Islamic terrorism; if you want to hunt down America's enemies wherever they lurk; if you care more about American security than you do about the Security Council—well then, the BBC and Pat Buchanan and Bill Moyers all have the same epithet for you. Or, as the man on the Darien platform might say, "All right, all right, have it your way: Yes, I am a neocon. Now can we wage our war?" **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.S. GOV'T GOLD FINAL RELEASE

Buy Gold Now Before it Reaches $450

Buy Gold Now Before it Reaches $450

Gold now predicted to go from $350 to $1,500 an ounce

2002 U.S. GOLD COINS FINAL RELEASE

The United States Rare Coin and Bullion Reserve Vault Facilities today announces the final release of 5,000 U.S. Gov't Issued Gold Coins previously held in The West Point Depository/U.S. Mint. For the first time in history, U.S. citizens will be able to buy 2002 Gov't Issued $5 Gold Coins at an incredible mark-up free price of only $42.00 each, $20 less than the nationally advertised price. These U.S. Gov't Issued Gold Coins are completely free of dealer markup. This is a once in a lifetime opportunity to buy U.S. Gov't Issued Gold Coins at cost. The Gold Market, which is currently at $350 an ounce, is predicted by experts to have the explosive upside potential of reaching up to $1,500 an ounce. A limit of ten U.S. Gov't Issued Gold Coins per customer will be strictly adhered to. Orders that are not immediately received or reserved with the order center could be subject to cancellation and your checks returned un-cashed. Good luck. We hope that everyone will have a chance to purchase this special U.S. Gov't Issued Gold at cost. Order immediately to avoid disappointment. 2003 coins will be shipped if oversold. Call Toll-Free 1-800-603-0050.

U.S. DEBT TOPS SIX TRILLION GOLD MARKET EXPLODES

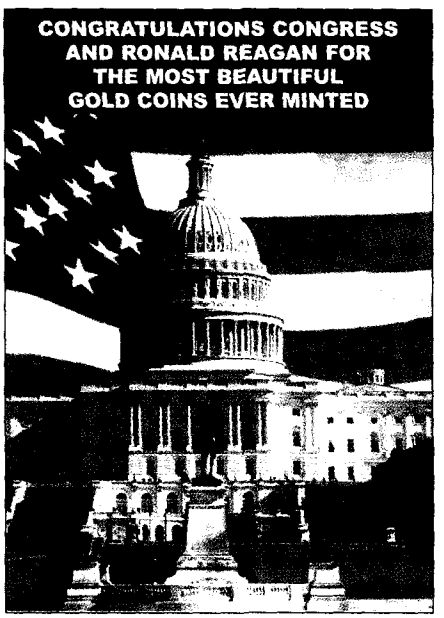
The war against terrorism and the liberation of Iraq continue to cost taxpayers countless dollars. Add 9,000,000 unemployed Americans, rampant corporate fraud, out of control government spending, the inability to balance the budget and you have an insurmountable growing debt that tops $6.6 Trillion. This is why the Gold Market has outperformed the S&P 500 for the past five years and CD's and savings account performances can't even come close to the gains that Gold has made. Now is the time to move paper assets into Gold. With prices holding steady (for now) in the $350 per ounce range, it is crucial that investors move now because as soon as tomorrow, Gold could start it's predicted steep rise from $350 to $1,500 per ounce.

GOLD IS ALWAYS BETTER THAN MONEY IN THE BANK

If you had $50,000 in the bank and you transferred it into Gold at today's prices, you would now have an investment with the potential to gain as much as 5 times its value. That's right, a quarter of a million dollars. On the other hand, if you leave that same $50,000 in the bank for 10 years, chances are, it's only going to be worth the same $50,000. Unfortunate... but true. You must understand that when you convert money to Gold, you haven't spent your money, but have transferred its value from a declining paper currency to a precious metal that is rising in value. Owning Gold offers protection for your money. Don't wait. Your $50,000 could be worth $250,000 instead of just $50,000.

AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS
PUBLIC LAW 99-185 99 STAT. 1179

OFFICIAL GOV'T ISSUED $5 GOLD COINS



U.S. CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

By executive order of Ronald Reagan and Congress Public Law 99-185, Americans can now buy new Government Issued Gold. Ronald Reagan opened the doors for everyone to purchase Gold and create security within their financial portfolios. In today's volatile economic environment it is important for all Americans to own Gold. The Gold Eagles' design features a moving tribute to the unity of the American family, in which a male eagle soars above a female eagle nesting with her newborns. Thank you to Ronald Reagan, one of the greatest presidents of all time, for the Gold American Eagle program.

CALL NOW

THEY WILL NOT LAST LONG

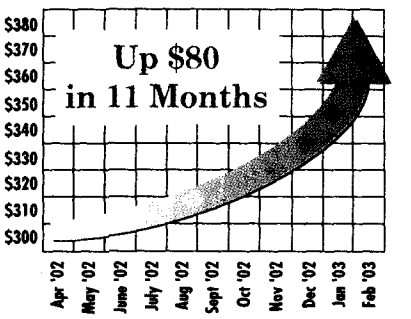
TOLL FREE
1-800-603-0050

24 Hours a Day, 7 Days a Week **VAULT NO. NA1GFC**

UNITED STATES
RARE COIN & BULLION RESERVE

GOLD EXPLODES

Experts Predict $1,500.00 an Ounce



GOLD ON THE MOVE U.S. DEBT TOPS $6.6 TRILLION

The Nat'l Debt, currently in excess of $6,600,000,000,000.00, has increased an average of $1.3 Billion per day – almost $1 Million per minute! It is impossible to believe that conventional investments are a safe place for your savings. Gold, in limited supply with an ever-increasing demand, is where many financial advisors are putting their hard-earned cash. With the Nat'l Debt on such a steep incline, it is easy to see why current projections show Gold at $1,500 per ounce may be closer than you think.

WHY TO BUY GOLD NOW

- **Gold has outperformed the S&P 500 for the past five years.**
- **Smart investors are moving 20-30% of their assets into U.S. Gov't Gold Coins.**
- **This is truly a once in a lifetime opportunity to buy U.S. Gov't Gold coins at cost.**
- **$50,000 in U.S. Gov't Gold Coins could be worth up to $250,000 in the future.**
- **With the National Debt at $6.6 Trillion and rising, Gold has an upside potential that has not been seen since the 1980's.**
- **Due to very limited supply, a limit of 10 U.S Gov't Gold Coins per customer will be strictly adhered to. Order immediately to avoid disappointment. Offer may a withdrawn at any time.**
- **Special arrangements can be made for Gold orders over $50,000.**

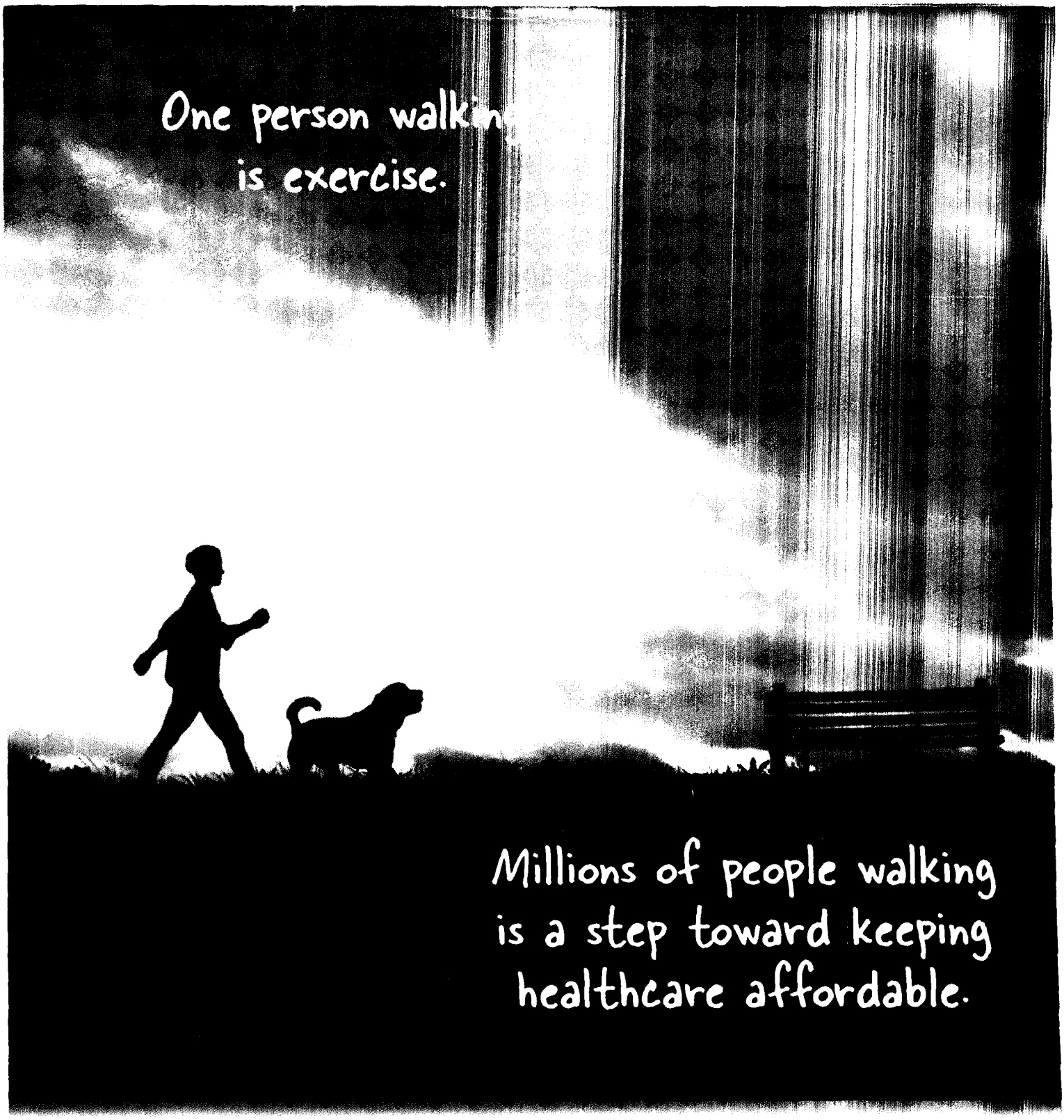
MASTER CARD • VISA • AMEX
DISCOVER • CHECK

BEGINNING TODAY, TELEPHONE ORDERS WILL BE ACCEPTED ON A FIRST-COME, FIRST-SERVE BASIS ACCORDING TO TIME AND DATE OF THE ORDER!

Minimum Order 5 Gold Coins

1 - 2002 Gov't Issue Gold Coin	$ 42.00
5 - 2002 Gov't Issue Gold Coins	$210.00
10 - 2002 Gov't Issue Gold Coins	$420.00

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The illness and chronic disease resulting from inactive lifestyles cost as much as $77 billion a year to treat. That's why Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans across the nation are launching ***WalkingWorks***℠, an unprecedented effort to work with employers to help Americans add physical activity to their daily routines. It's one of the many ways we're doing our part to control rising healthcare costs. For more information, visit our web site at **www.bcbs.com**.

Healthcare. Affordable. Now.

BlueCross BlueShield Association

An Association of Independent Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED